

The comrades in the city and state of New York cannot be too often reminded of the necessity of advertising our official party name and emblem. If this is neglected and only a general

Our vallant and vanguard comrades
August Bebel, has well said in the
German Reichstag: "We know but
two nations in the world to-day—the
nation of producers and the nation of
exploiters, the nation of workers—the
nation of capitalists." As surely
as that the general elections will come
within five months, so surely can
we predict that at those elections the Ger-
man division of the International
brotherhood of toilers will give a check-
mate to militarism and strike one more tell-
ing blow against capitalist rule, by as-

The glorious present and the glorious ideal both could see. But the way from the present horror to the glory of the future was dark to both. For neither Carlyle nor Ruskin had a scientific mind and neither of them lived in touch with the common life of the toiling masses. That the millennial working-class movement, which both of these men condemned in their time, would now alone have the right to quote their eloquent words is a fact that most curiously illustrates the weakness of the traditional will in the face of living social forces.

—Now when we are reading so much in the daily press about railway service, rates, wages, and profits, to be good time to circulate Hanford's "Railroading in the United States," one of the best Socialist pamphlets ever written. Price, postpaid, 5 cents a copy; ten or more at 34 cents each. Socialist Literature Company, 146 Williams Street, New York.

The two poles from which proceed all social action and reaction for progress or destruction are the man who is willing to let up take the place of ownership as the element of civilization and the man who demands possession as the element of civilization—that is, the socialist and the private owner. All social movements are cur-

The realist differs very little in their nature of his error and its consequences from the idealist. The idealist's limitations, from the idealist. Therefore, the realist mistakes the impression for the real and that stamped it, and thinks somewhat that it is his impression that stamps the real. The realist, on the other hand, mistakes the knowledge of the real world for his knowledge of the real world without for that real world itself. While he scourges the idealist with his knowledge calling it law, the idealist scourges him with his impression calling it truth. Yet the law and the truth are one and in it as equal distance from the real. The idealist calls upon both of us to move with it. When the realist clears his mind of the content which confounds comic and evolutionary laws with the statement of them, and the idealist clears his mind of the cast which confounds impression

If the prosperity of this commonwealth has been built upon the graves of murdered babies and consorted with their blood, it is a stain upon the face of the sun, and the wrath of the devil, that cannot be overthrown too soon. It is a monstrous lie that the prosperity of Pennsylvania rests upon the infamy of a legislature that made the state government a kidnapper for slave drivers. The blood of the innocent and the welfare of the sick are not one and the same thing.

The wolf threatens to change his lark and hunt on another range if the shepherd puts faithful dogs on guard over the flock. He wants his gun, blood, and money. He wants the state to take him for an honest dog. The silk factories will be moved if infant slavery is abolished in Pennsylvania, in the threat of the mill masters. If the companies cannot operate in an-

—The Social Democratic Party of New York is the same as the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due solely to provisions of the election laws. Do not confuse this organization with the so-called "Socialist Labor Party," or "union-smashers."

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DENTIST.

The Duty the Party Ows the Unions and What It Can Rightly Demand of Them.

Trade unions cannot put a stop to this. But they often can and do somewhat lighten the burden of toll and some-

First, the unions on their side must remember the different purposes and methods of the two movements. They would rightly object did the party seek

Of high and pure renown.
Is there never a man to lift me up
Where myriads drag me down?
—Ernest McGaffey.

Benefits and Limitations of Trade Unions—How Labor Is Robbed—How to Stop the Robbery.

be die, he wants his children to have it. In short and in long, HE WANTS TO SPEND HIS HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS AND LIVE TO

setting machine; and the ex-cart to the steam railway, the means of production become too large, costly and complicated for one man to perform or

But in all these economic battles, whether with you reaps victory or defeat, keep your eye on the political

That can only be done through the capture by the working class of the powers of government. To you work-

QUEENS, S. D. P.,
meets on the first Wednesday of the
month at the Hoffman House, Cooper
avenue, near Myrtle avenue, Glendale.

PARTY NOTES.

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of New York, held on Feb. 2, Daniel A. White was elected Secretary to fill the vacancy caused by the election of William Malloy to the position of National Secretary.

During the past two weeks State Organizer Dan A. White has been working in the western part of the State. He has visited Orange, Albol, North Adams, Adams, Pittsford, Springville, Hialeah, Westfield, Chippewa, South Hadley Falls, Tupper Falls, Warren, Wane, Northampton and Westport. He addressed public meetings at Pittsford, Orange and Warren, all of which were successful. New clubs were organized in Orange and Albol, and more will materialize during the coming week.

All party members in Boston who can sing or play any musical instrument are requested to communicate with Joseph Sperry, 330 Shawmut Avenue.

The convention of the Socialist Party in Manchester, New Hampshire, N. H., was held on Saturday, Jan. 31. Comrade Meyer acted as chairman and Comrade Jorgensen as secretary. The following nominations were made: For President, Samuel Butler; for Treasurer, Rudolph G. Hokeness; for Collector, Paul Hunk; for Township Committee, Comrade Jorgensen; for County Committee, Comrade Jorgensen; for State Committee, Comrade Jorgensen; for National Committee, Comrade Jorgensen.

Local Passaic County, N. J., holds public meetings every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock sharp, in Helvelia Hall, 64-66 Van Houten Street, Paterson. The program of free lectures for the next two Sundays is as follows: Feb. 8, Dr. Charles P. De Voe, on "The World of Labor"; Feb. 15, George H. Strobel, on "Is the World Ready for Socialism?"

The Bloomfield, N. J., branch of the Socialist Party has arranged to have lectures at the Labor Lyceum every Sunday at 3 P. M. Several other large meetings will be held during the spring campaign, which is to be a hot one. The campaign committee is working out a great deal of work and funds will be needed to carry it out and let the people of Bloomfield know what the Socialist stand for. Contributions should be sent as liberally and as quickly as possible to the treasurer, Albert Schmidt, Myrtle Street, Bloomfield.

By invitation Comrade Nelson spoke last week at the annual smoker of the Brotherhood of Painters, No. 241, of Montclair, N. J., which covers the northeastern part of Essex County. He was listened to with attention and his presentation of Socialism was warmly applauded. He distributed a hundred copies of "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies" in the Union.

Regular Sunday evening lectures are held under the auspices of Local Philadelphia of the Socialist Party at City headquarters, 1305 Arch Street. Last Sunday W. L. Ross spoke on "Private and Public Property." On Feb. 8, Edward Moore will discuss "Socialism and What It Means to Accomplish." W. J. Front will be the speaker on Feb. 15, taking as his subject "The Politics of the Single Tax," and on the following Sunday Dr. G. M. Mettler will speak on "The Position of the Socialist in America." Admission is free.

Local Toledo favors the adoption of the Arm and Torch as the official emblem of the party in Ohio.

The meeting in Memorial Hall, Toledo, O., on the evening of Tuesday, Jan. 23, addressed by Comrades T. McElroy and James P. Carey, was a record-breaker. The hall was filled, floor and galleries. About fifteen hundred tickets were sold at ten cents each, netting a neat sum after paying all expenses. Comrade Carey spoke first, and spoke for forty-five minutes. This was his first appearance in Toledo and he captured the house. When he closed he was given loud and long applause. Comrade McElroy followed for an hour and twenty minutes. He was listening under the disadvantage of trouble with his throat, but he poured hot shot into the capitalist system, interspersed with witty stories, in a manner greatly to please the audience. This was his second appearance in the city, and his reception shows he can come again and be sure of a crowd. Carey and McElroy made a great team. It was a bad night, and a good one for the cause. Carey and McElroy were surprised to see the crowd. Carey and McElroy were surprised to see the crowd. Carey and McElroy were surprised to see the crowd.

also decided to have a course of lectures during February, March and April. The party's headquarters are at present established at 23 North Broadway, the rooms of the Building Trades Council. Tickets for the Globe Fair are being pushed just now by the comrades. Yonkers will send a good delegation to the Fair.

Local Peekskill holds its nominating convention Friday evening, Feb. 6, in Labor Hall, on South Street, and will put a full ticket in the field.

New York City.
Leaflets on the coal crisis and increase of Socialist vote can be obtained at the Office of the Organizer of Local New York City, Price, \$1.50 a thousand. All Assembly district organizations should get these leaflets at once.

The semi-annual general meeting of the Social Democratic Women's Society was held in the Clubhouse, 300 East Eighty-third Street. The financial report from August to January was as follows: Receipts, \$258.68; expenditures, \$221.81; balance, \$36.87. The delegates from the different branches reported good meetings. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. W. W. Wyant; of Br. 1: Treasurer, Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 2: Secretary, Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 3: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 4: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 5: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 6: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 7: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 8: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 9: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 10: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 11: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 12: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 13: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 14: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 15: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 16: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 17: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 18: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 19: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 20: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 21: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 22: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 23: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 24: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 25: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 26: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 27: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 28: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 29: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 30: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 31: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 32: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 33: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 34: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 35: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 36: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 37: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 38: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 39: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 40: Mrs. Munkel; of Br. 41: Mrs. Munkel; 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If, on the other hand, we should give to Labor our helping hand, politically as well as economically, we would not only have its doors open for "boring from within" for Socialism proper—in this case as well as in the case of the economic trade unions—but would by such action alone travel the very road to Socialism. We will PRACTISE Socialism rather; for the development of

state that the question of the co-operation with the Union Labor party was not a fundamental question of principle, as it was regarded by many of our comrades, but merely a question of policy and expediency. The mission of the Socialist party is to prepare the working class for the role it is destined to play in the social and economic revolution going on in modern society.

quite insignificant; and under similar conditions, we might have been compelled to act in a similar manner.

But such occurrences are always signs of the weakness of our movement; and can only be justified by the plea of necessity. When our movement becomes a political factor of significance, such occurrences have no justification. When organized labor some-

turn to their old unreasoning traditions. A union may send to-day a Socialist delegate to the union labor convention, and the next day, the majority having changed, it may send a Democratic or Republican delegate. The political complexion of such a body is always subject to change, and that is why all "union labor" parties have heretofore unceasingly urged their

2. That said action was in accord with the principles and policy of the Socialist Party, and that we would give them all the assistance within our power, to accomplish the object of said platform.

Realizing that your committee would appreciate the fullest possible information in regard to the troubles in San Francisco, we sent requests for information to an equal number of comrades on each side of the controversy in said city and the information thus obtained will be placed before you.

—The more you work, the more you earn—for somebody else.

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY.

Socialists Making More Trouble for the Kaiser and Capitalists.

The Parliamentary Methods of the "Law and Order" Class—The Krupp Affair—Bebel's Reply to Emperor William—Spread of Socialism Throws Biting Glasses into Paris.

During the last few months the German Socialists have so harassed and embarrassed the government as to enrage the Kaiser and bring consternation and dismay to the ruling class. In his determination to maintain a great military establishment the German Emperor has been seeking to greatly increase the tariff tax on food products. As this burden would fall most heavily on the working class, the Socialists used every possible means to secure the defeat of the law. So successful were their tactics that the government parties were compelled to adopt the most extreme methods of gagging in order to force the bill through. This violation of parliamentary law and constitutional right by the agrarians and clericals was so flagrant as to call forth condemnation even in conservative circles. The recent proceedings in the German Reichstag show once again that the capitalist class which poses as the defender of "law and order" will stop at no methods, however illegal, to attain its ends.

As a reward for forcing the tariff law through, the Emperor offered Chancellor von Bülow the title of Prince. The title was declined, Von Bülow probably realizing that the title of Prince, given to Bismarck for achievements so much greater, would only make him ridiculous when awarded for such a shameful and petty success.

The Krupp Affair.

One of the greatest beneficiaries of the military policy and the strongest supporters of imperial despotism was Herr Krupp, the head of the great armory and ordnance firm. The Reichstag, the great Socialist parliament, published an account of the fact that Krupp was receiving the most revolting "unnatural vice" at his winter residence on the island of Capri.

A libel suit was at once started against "Vorwärts," but Krupp died a few days later.

The Emperor saw an opportunity in this fact to turn public sentiment against the Socialists, and attended the funeral and made a most violent attack upon the Socialist movement, branding Krupp's character, eulogizing him as a public benefactor and friend of the workingman, and charging the Socialists with his death. The capitalist press of America, which joined the Emperor in his laudation of Krupp and rebuke of the "wicked Socialists," in almost every case failed to mention the real nature of the Krupp exposure. In answer to the Emperor's eulogy of Krupp's "generosity" and "benevolence," "Vorwärts" showed that the Krupp system of insurance, pensions, etc., for employees, was simply a shrewd method of reducing wages, increasing exploitation, and destroying the last vestige of personal liberty. It has since become known that the Emperor was considering a request of Krupp's wife to be deprived of legal rights and placed under guardianship of his habits, and that physicians were sent to examine his sanity just before he died. It is supposed that he committed suicide. His body was so carefully guarded that the true manner of his death could not be learned.

The libel suit against the "Vorwärts" was dropped. The Krupp affair has again exposed the hypocrisy of the Emperor and the degeneracy of the ruling class. Before the abandonment of the prosecution the secret police tried to bribe one of the employees of the "Vorwärts" to tell the secrets of the Socialist organ; the money was accepted and the fact then published in "Vorwärts" with an announcement that the money would be refunded to the police if called for.

Capitalists Alarmed.

"Vorwärts" publishes a secret circular signed by the leaders of the feudal nobility and industrial plutocracy, and appealing to the capitalist elements for contributions to a fund of 300,000 marks for the purpose of publishing and distributing eight million pamphlets against Socialism. The circular begins as follows:

"Right Honorable Sir: The Social Democracy received in the Reichstag elections, vote: 1,811-312,000; 1,844-550,000; 1,887-743,000; 1,890-1,427,000; 1,903-1,767,000; 1,908-2,212,000, and would probably poll two and one-half million votes in the coming Reichstag election if its growth only remained the same. But the Socialists expect to poll 3,000,000 votes, at least, so the leaders have declared at their national convention in Munich. The Socialist party will then contest the second ballot in still more election precincts than in 1905 and expects to win out, in consequence of the greater intensity of industrial, denominational, and national antagonisms between the non-Socialist parties, even in those precincts where such a possibility was not given before.

"Unfortunately, we must, therefore, anticipate a considerable increase of Socialist representation in the Reichstag, who now number 58, and thus a greater influence of this party, which is already strongly felt in the Reichstag. What a danger it would be to have the Socialists assume a dominating position in the Reichstag needs no explanation.

"To forestall this danger with all our strength is a duty which is dictated by national, social, industrial, and ethical motives."

This sounds very much like the circular of our own American National Association of Manufacturers and National Economic League. The "Vorwärts" publishes the circular in full with all the signatures and invites the comrades to contribute a million marks for the purpose of publishing and distributing answers to the capitalist pamphlets.

All the emperor's anti-Socialist speeches and the Krupp affair have only resulted in heavily increasing the Socialist vote in various municipal and bye-elections. The general elections for the Reichstag will be held in June.

Bebel's Reply to the Kaiser.

Bebel, the Socialist leader in the Reichstag, recently made a sensation by his reply to the Kaiser's speeches, although it was necessary for him to speak very guardedly. Foreign press dispatches give the following partial report of Bebel's speech:

"Herr Bebel, as is often the case, was eloquent and sarcastic. Never in the history of Germany has a monarch been addressed in words of such brutal frankness. Herr Bebel prefaced his remarks by stating that on the previous day Count von Bülow had repudiated the personal attacks made on the Kaiser. The Kaiser, however, he declared, at every opportunity spoke of Social Democracy, and had repeatedly raised his voice against the party in the strongest fashion. Furthermore, the Kaiser had repeatedly interfered in the party disputes of the Reichstag, for example, when that body refused to congratulate Bismarck on his birthday."

"The right of expressing one's free opinion we will not deny to any one," he continued. "In this case it cannot be denied—a ruler enjoys in a constitutional state an exclusive position. It is constitutionally irresponsible, yes, in fact, before the law, is irresponsible."

Accuses Kaiser of Libel.

"If many of the speeches made against my party had been made by another man, and if one of us had brought suit, the speaker undoubtedly by every judge would have been punished by libel. But the press only in this case is not guarded with any consideration. The press is restricted by the criminal code, which is especially severely enforced against Socialists."

"Also, the view of the Chancellor is not tenable, that the Kaiser in his utterances speaks as a private person. The Kaiser, no more than any other ruler, is a private person. As often as the Kaiser appears, he appears as the Kaiser."

"An exception it would be, if like a second Haroun al Raschid, he, like a second Haroun al Raschid, were to go among the people and in such a disguise make a speech in a Social Democratic meeting. Then we would not to the Kaiser, but to the private person, Haroun al Raschid—give the proper answer."

"The position in which we Social Democrats find ourselves is a serious one. We are attacked, severely attacked, and cannot answer. Are you surprised if therefore a feeling of hatred should arise against the Kaiser?"

"I ask the gentlemen of the Extreme Left, the most loyal among the loyal, if you were so treated as we have been for years, would you be imbued with the same feelings of loyalty? There was a time when you of the Left were in a very excited spirit and when in conservative circles of Prussia and of Germany more cases of libel majesty occurred than elsewhere in the German Empire. This was in the beginning of the nineties, in the time of Caprivi and Marschall."

"Other German rulers, unlike the Kaiser, are not in the foreground. I do not remember that a Social Democratic paper or Social Democratic leader was ever punished for insulting the Prince Royal of Bavaria, the King of Württemberg, or the Grand Duke of Hesse. Three gentlemen only serve the restraint which is placed on us as constitutional monarchs. They do not engage, if I may so express it, in party politics. The Kaiser, on the other hand, acts entirely differently."

"The Chancellor declared that he did not wish to see the Kaiser a Prince. I do not wish to see a Philistine as a Prince either. For we have too many Philistines in Germany already. The Kaiser does not need to be a Philistine, but we do not like the way in which he has attacked us."

"It is but natural that impulsive nature, as many of us are, should feel the necessity to vent their feelings. But we cannot do this either here or outside of the Reichstag, as the President has stated. If I spoke of the Kaiser in the same tone that he spoke of Social Democracy it would result very badly for me indeed. Therefore I must speak with the greatest reserve, although I also belong to the impulsive nature."

"Let us consider what the Kaiser in the last thirteen years, in various variations, has said of the 'inner enemy.' To a deputation of miners in 1880 he said: 'For me a Social Democrat is the equivalent of an enemy of the empire and the Fatherland.' September, 1905, we were called a mob of men, not worthy to bear the name of Germans. October 13, 1903, after the murder of the manufacturer Schwartz at Muehlhausen, which was not our fault, it was said: 'Another victim of the revolutionary movement caused by Social Democracy.' In 1901 it was said that the soldiers owed absolute obedience to the Kaiser, even if he gave a command to shoot against Socialism."

"Recently the party was not only completely condemned, but in the latest speeches the sharpest attacks were directed against us as representatives of the party. The German workmen were asked to separate from us 'dangerous people.'"

A Pointed Defense.

"If the strongest party of Germany is treated in this fashion, these are things, regardless of what political views which one may hold, which deserve attention. We are the strongest party, and after the next election, without any exaggeration—we shall be such in a higher degree."

"We endeavor to judge objectively when Princes, according to our opinion, have done good. We have always willingly acknowledged it, even toward the Kaiser. What reason should we have to be against rulers? As republicans we are against the monarchy, but not opponents of rulers. It is with them as with our position to the bourgeois society, for which we do not hold every single member responsible."

"A Prince is born as a Prince. Is it his fault? By chance he has become a ruler, and if a Prince is human, is not personal toward us in his position, we shall never personally oppose him. Monarchy is an institution, not a question of person. It has grown on a historical foundation."

"Therefore we are the strongest opponents of the Anarchists, who preach the murder of rulers. There is no greater insanity than attacks on rulers—first, because the rulers are personally innocent; secondly, because only the followers of the monarchy are benefited, and, thirdly, because such attacks do no good."

"Herr Bebel then paid his compliments to the Crown Prince in these words: 'Not enough that the Kaiser appears against us now also comes the Crown Prince. This youth of twenty also speaks of "miserable ones." (Eleiden.)'

"What has this young man done to allow himself such language? If we are called 'miserable ones,' this does not anger us. The name will become a title of honor, as did that of the Gules, which means beggars. Perhaps we will call our next party convention the Furling of the Kaiser."

"I am of the opinion that the young man has something else to do than to insult the strongest party of Germany. Such language cannot help him very much in his future position."

"He then returned to the Emperor. 'Recent speeches of the Kaiser,' he said, 'have resulted in expressions of loyalty. In the Ruhr district, in Magdeburg, in Stettin, the workmen have been compelled to sign addresses of loyalty to the Kaiser. In the Zollverein and the Rhenish provinces a speech of the Kaiser, in which reference is made to the good economic condition of the workmen, was posted in a weaving establishment where the weekly wage is from 2 marks (50 cents) to 7 marks (\$1.75) a week—starvation wages.'

"In many cases—I refer to the Gronau works in Magdeburg—workmen who refused to sign addresses of loyalty were discharged. We told them: 'Undersign. If the employers wish to be lied to, lie to them.'"

"Bebel closed his peroration in these words: 'We have now conditions in Germany which can be compared only with those in the Rome of the Caesars or in Byzantium-Bysantium on the one side and Czarism on the other. False ambition and servility show themselves nowhere so badly as among the upper classes of Germany. He who looks around well knows what cowardice, what lack of character, what fearful lack of courage exists everywhere. Every one crouches, all endeavor to gain money and advantages.'

NEW JERSEY.

At last Saturday's meeting of the State Committee the following resolution for amendment of the state constitution was offered by Delegate Pres. H. H. Hudson, County, was adopted and ordered to be embodied in a referendum and submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection:

"Resolved, That votes counted on referendum in New Jersey be counted only when such votes are cast (as certified by the chairman and secretary of the branch) by members in good standing, at a regular meeting of the branch, and that members desiring to exercise the franchise be required to produce duly due cards in evidence of membership and good standing."

The vote on this referendum must be in the hands of the State Secretary on or before March 7; no votes received after that time will be counted.

At the same meeting of the State Committee, the State Secretary was given instructions, based on a protest of the Third Ward Branch of West Hoboken, endorsed by the Eleventh Ward Branch of Jersey City, to take a new referendum on place and time for holding state convention. The following places and dates will be voted on: Places—Camden, Camden County; Jersey City, Hudson County; Paterson, Passaic County; Trenton, Mercer County; Newark, Essex County; Rutherford, Bergen County; Hoboken, Hudson County. Dates—May 10; May 30; July 1; Labor Day.

"For this referendum all votes must be returned on or before March 7 and the return from each branch must bear the certification of the Chairman and Secretary to the correctness of return, the acknowledgment of the Financial Secretary of the right of all recorded to vote, and the seal of the branch. Blanks have been sent to all branches."

All returns are to be made to the State Secretary, E. R. Kearns, Arlington, N. J.

"What a luxury a clear conscience is," exclaimed the high-minded statesman. "Yes," answered Senator Borah. "It's a luxury. But it isn't a necessity."—Washington Star.

DAILY GLOBE FAIR.

Unions Showing Increased Interest in the Undertaking.

Fourteen Organizations Added to the Roll at Last Session of the Daily Globe Conference—Notes and Amounts in Regard to the Fair.

The last meeting of the Daily Globe Conference held on Thursday, Feb. 12, was well attended and considerable work for the Fair was done. Fourteen new unions affiliated themselves with the Conference at this meeting, which shows how the daily paper proposition is taking hold of the labor organizations in this city.

Comrades representing the different district organizations of the party are requested not to fail to appear at these conferences, for there has been in the past a lack of attendance of such delegates. The various districts of the party should see to it that delegates are elected who will attend to the duty imposed upon them."

The next meeting of the Daily Globe Conference will take place at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, on Thursday, Feb. 26, at that body has decided to meet twice a month until after the Fair.

The next meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, which should regularly be held on Feb. 23, is postponed until the evening of Monday in March, in view of the fact that Feb. 23 is a legal holiday and the day of the "Volkszeitung" Jubilee.

Sale of Tickets.

From present indications it seems that the tickets for the Fair are going very well. Comrades should see that their organizations are supplied and the Fair advertised as extensively as possible. Members of any organizations which have not yet been supplied with tickets are requested to inform Secretary Butcher of the fact, so that the oversight may be corrected.

Returns for tickets sold should be made as promptly as possible, as a considerable amount of money is needed to cover preliminary expenses. All returns are to be made to the Secretary, William Butcher, at 64 East Fourth street, not through the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, and comrades making returns by mail should give the numbers of the tickets retained.

In general no public acknowledgment can be made through The Worker for tickets sold, on account of limitations of space, but by special request the Secretary notes that the Trunk Makers' Union has bought \$3 worth and the International Arbeiter Union, \$15 worth.

Collection of Presents.

Many of the comrades are heading the request of the Committee in sending in the presents they have either donated personally or collected from others. All who hold donation books were asked to see to it that the presents on their books are sent to 64 East Fourth street at once, and when the presents are of such a nature as to require the sending of a wagon the Committee requests that they be notified.

Within about a fortnight the Executive Committee will call a general meeting of all bodies interested in the undertaking for the purpose of electing the committees needed at the Fair and asking to each member desiring to exercise the franchise be required to produce duly due cards in evidence of membership and good standing."

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

At last Saturday's meeting of the General Committee of Local New York Comrades Abrams and Searing presiding, fourteen new members were admitted to the party. Henry Scheun was seated as a new delegate from the 10th A. D. The delegates of the 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 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of the
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SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22,
—AND—
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23,

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Friede, "The Marcellaise."	Wagner
Grand March from "Lohengrin".....	Thomas
Overture to "Raymond".....	Strauss
Concert-Waltz, "Artist's Life".....	Tobani
A new flower-song, "Herzen und Blumen".	Tobani
Selections from "Annullauer".....	Lumbye
March, "The Ambler".....	Gounod
Polka, "Faust".....	Gounod

Popular melodies from "Dolly Varden"	Edwards
Fantasia, "The Old Kentucky Home"	Daily
Solos for clarinet, cornet, trombone, baritone and bass.	
Idyl, "Hunting Scene"	Uncolored
Synopsis: Deer breaks, several hunters prepare for the pleasure of the day. The baying of the hounds.	
Echo. The meeting of the hunters. "Frisch auf zum frühlichen Jagen." Tally-ho! A hit! The death. For home again.	
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"BATTLE SONG," FROM "RIENZL"
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"ARBEITER AUF!"

Festival Address by ALEXANDER JONAS.
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GRAND BALL AFTER THE CONCERT

MONDAY DRAMATIC

MONDAY: DRAMATIC PROGRAM.
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Bobt. L. Worm's Hall, 85 E. Fourth St.	Charles Wecklen, 546 W. 26th St.
H. Modest's Liberty Hall, 50 First St.	Ferdinand van Wolfersdorf, 6227 Amsterdam Ave.

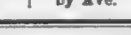
Winkelman's Cafe, 307 Bowery.
Langholz's Hall, 385 Bowery.
William L. Rose Hall, 244 First Ave.
Winkelman's Hall, 314 E. 41st St.
Workmen's Educational Club, 290 East 86th St.
Kaesmpfer's Hall, 316 E. 63d St.
Turek's Saloon, 420 E. 56th St.
Friedlander's Saloon, E. Second Ave.
Kaufman's Saloon, 434 E. Second Ave.
John Smulger, Stationery, 1848 Amsterdam Ave.
F. Richter, 570 W. 78th St.
West Side Union Hotel, 342 W. 42d St.
Frank Praet, 625 Tenth Ave.
Peter Jaerling, 635 Tenth Ave.
W. Meyer, 408 W. 60th St.
Henry Haupt, 520 W. 53d St.
Frank Barth, 530 W. 53d Ave.
E. Kunkel, 737 88th Ave.

Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Ave.
 Enall Photo's Hall, 240 E. 80th St.
 Von der Heyden & Kronenbitter's
 Hotel, 1501 Second Ave.
 Schluterman's Hall, 1497 Avenue A.
 "Newspaper Store, 2285 Sec-
 ond Ave.
 John Heinrichs, Book Store, 82 Ave-
 nue A.
 Abramson, 201 W. 101st St.
 BRONX BOROUGH.
 Clubhouse of the Workmen's Edu-
 cational Society, 3396 Third Ave.
 Westcott Hall, 163d St. and Wash-
 ington Ave.
 J. Berwind's Cafe, 741 St. Ann's Ave.
 Stollwagen's Saenger-Halle, 790 Forest
 Ave.

Victor Soeller, Weinstein, 84 Ave. A. Fishermen's Home, 1882 First Ave. Schultz Restaurant, Second Ave. near Third St. Schmidt, Cider-Store, 407 Sixth St.	Xlontpfeff Hall, 945 Third Ave. Klein's Grocery, 628 Madison Ave. BROOKLYN Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willough- by Ave.
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History of the Dania Community of 1974

1974



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340th A. D. - First and third Thursdays at 1432 Second avenue.
 341st A. D. - Bohemian Br. - First and third Thursdays at 137th First avenue.
 342nd A. D. - Second and fourth Fridays at 147th Avenue.
 343rd A. D. - Second and fourth Wednesdays at W. E. Clubhouse, 206 East 147th Street.
 344th A. D. - Second and fourth Tuesdays at Conrad Wilkins' home, 2063 Seventh Avenue.
 345th A. D. - First and third Thursdays at Harlem Union Hall, 1397 Third Avenue.
 346th A. D. - Every Friday at 360 Willis Avenue.
 347th A. D. - Br. (German) - Every Friday at W. E. Clubhouse, 2300 Third avenue.
 348th A. D. - Br. 2 (English) - Second and fourth Thursdays at Third Avenue.
 349th A. D. - Third Avenue.
 Ancestral District - First and third Saturdays at Hilda's home.
 W. E. Clubhouse, 206 East 147th Street.
 W. E. Clubhouse, 206 East 147th Street.

LOCAL KING COUNTY.
Organiser—Warren Atkinson, 122 Fort
Green place.
County Committee meets on the second
and fourth Saturday evenings of each
month at Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby

1st, 2d, and 3d A. D. (American branch)—
First and third Fridays at Comrade Fu-
nigan's home, 121 Schermerhorn street.
5th A. D., 10th Ward—First and third
Mondays at W. Emich's Hall, 3-7 Moor-
um street.
6th A. D., 21st Ward—Every Thursday at
Excelsior Hall, 33 Sumner avenue.
7th A. D.—First and third Thursdays
at Comrade Blankenfeld's home, 1222 Forty-

12th A. D.—First and third Fridays at

10—Guerilla Hall, 325 Prospect avenue.
 11—Guerilla Hall, 325 Prospect avenue.
 12—Saturday—Guerilla Hall, 325 Prospect avenue.
 13—Saturday at Eckford Hall, corner Eckford Hall
 and Calver street.
 14—Sunday—Guerilla Hall, corner Humboldt
 street.
 15—D—First and third Fridays at
 the Socialist Club, Ralph avenue and Fulton
 street.
 16—D—First Thursday at Socialist
 Club, Ralph avenue and Fulton street.
 17—D—First and third Fridays at
 the Socialist Club, Ralph avenue and
 Fulton street.
 18—D—First and third Fridays at
 the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 555 Wooloughy
 avenue.
 19—D—D. A. L. R. 1 (German)—First and
 third Wednesdays at Koch's Hall, 257 Ham-
 burg avenue.
 20—D. A. L. R. 2 (English)—Fourth Tues-
 day at 180 Evergreen avenue.
 21—D. A. L. R. 3 (English)—First and third
 Tuesdays at the German Club and meetings
 at the German Club, corner Calver Hall, Stearns
 avenue, between Belmont and Pitkin.
 22—D. A. L. R. 3 (English)—Second and

Meets on the first and third Saturday evenings of each month at the Stapleton Labor Lyceum, Hoff street.

—The Social Democratic Party of New York is the same as the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due solely to provisions of the election laws. Do not confuse this organization with the so-called "Socialist Labor Party," or "union-smashers."

How many tickets have YOU sold for the Daily Globe Fair?

SPECIAL NOTICE.

BRANCH GLENDALE, LOCAL
QUEENS, S. D. P.,
meets on the first Wednesday of the
month at the Hoffman House, Cooper
avenue, near Myrtle avenue, Glendale.

Celebration in Memory of the Commune
ARRANGED BY THE
Social Democratic Party

19th and 20th Assembly District,
On Friday Eve., March 20, 1903,
at 8 o'clock, at the
Brooklyn Labor Lyceum (Large Hall),
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ADMISSION FREE!
Address in English by MORRIS HILLQUIN.

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VOL. XIII, NO. 2.

NEW YORK, APRIL 12, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Three Socialists Have Opponents "on the Run."

Put Up a Strong Fight for Aid for Unemployed, Public Ownership of Mines and Fuel Yards, and Life-Protection on Railways—Republicans and Democrats on the March of a Dilemma.

BOSTON, Mass., April 6.—The past few weeks have been busy ones in this state for our Representatives in the Legislature; the mornings have been devoted to committee hearings upon the various bills introduced by them, the afternoons being occupied at legislative session, and evenings devoted by Comrades Carey and MacCartney to speaking in this and adjoining states.

The committee on the bill reporting the bill that was submitted to them, and among such bills was one offered by Comrade MacCartney, calling for an appropriation of \$100,000 as an emergency fund, to be used in time of industrial distress, in the building of roads and other public work to give employment to the unemployed. The bill was reported adversely by a committee made up of Republicans and Democrats.

This call to mind the days of 1901, at the time of the great industrial panic, when meetings of the unemployed were held daily upon the Common, presided over by Herbert N. Casson and Morrison I. Swift. One day the hosts of unemployed marched to the State House in a body to ask for relief, Governor Greenleaf, in great alarm, telephoned for the police. The army of workmen dispersed quietly, but their presence in such numbers impressed the state officials with the necessity of at least making a pretense of doing something, and they accorded them the usual relief by appointing a committee on investigation—and that was all that ever came of it.

The present bill was reported ten minutes before adjournment of the House on Thursday, and they entered into an immediate discussion of it in the expectation that it could be disposed of in ten minutes. Comrade MacCartney opened in behalf of the measure, and asked that the bill be substituted for the adverse report. He said that this measure, if adopted, would give relief in the impending commercial crisis, and that it was the duty of the Legislature to recognize the needs of the people in such emergencies, and quoted from the report of the investigating committee of 1901 that it was within the province of the state to give to honest men with families the opportunity for employment when such opportunity was denied them in periods of great industrial depression.

Dana of Newton, a Republican, opposed it on the ground that the state should not care for the individual that they should not aid in setting up a paternal government and destroy that individual independence that was the basis of society today.

The House then adjourned, and the matter came up again the next afternoon. Representative Callender, though a Republican and a member of the committee that had given the adverse report, took issue with his party associates. The bill was then passed by a vote of 100 to 90.

When he concluded, the capitalist interest in the body to some extent applauded him. Carey instantly arose, and said: "Stand up, you members who applaud. Stand up, you who applaud this sentiment of snarling as expressed by the Republican leader. One of them half rose in response to Carey's call and then dropped back into his seat as though ashamed. Carey continued with an impassioned speech in which he showed that the doctrine of the individual being superior to the government was the doctrine that served the arm of Chicago. This was the doctrine of the Anarchist, and here stands the recognized Republican leader of the House side by side with the Anarchist, declaring that the individual is greater than the government in its organized capacity. He drove the capitalist representatives into a hole from which they could not extricate themselves. But they defeated the measure when it came to a vote. One more point on which we must appeal to the people.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Three Socialists Have Opponents "on the Run."

Put Up a Strong Fight for Aid for Unemployed, Public Ownership of Mines and Fuel Yards, and Life-Protection on Railways—Republicans and Democrats on the March of a Dilemma.

BOSTON, Mass., April 6.—The past few weeks have been busy ones in this state for our Representatives in the Legislature; the mornings have been devoted to committee hearings upon the various bills introduced by them, the afternoons being occupied at legislative session, and evenings devoted by Comrades Carey and MacCartney to speaking in this and adjoining states.

The committee on the bill reporting the bill that was submitted to them, and among such bills was one offered by Comrade MacCartney, calling for an appropriation of \$100,000 as an emergency fund, to be used in time of industrial distress, in the building of roads and other public work to give employment to the unemployed. The bill was reported adversely by a committee made up of Republicans and Democrats.

This call to mind the days of 1901, at the time of the great industrial panic, when meetings of the unemployed were held daily upon the Common, presided over by Herbert N. Casson and Morrison I. Swift. One day the hosts of unemployed marched to the State House in a body to ask for relief, Governor Greenleaf, in great alarm, telephoned for the police. The army of workmen dispersed quietly, but their presence in such numbers impressed the state officials with the necessity of at least making a pretense of doing something, and they accorded them the usual relief by appointing a committee on investigation—and that was all that ever came of it.

The present bill was reported ten minutes before adjournment of the House on Thursday, and they entered into an immediate discussion of it in the expectation that it could be disposed of in ten minutes. Comrade MacCartney opened in behalf of the measure, and asked that the bill be substituted for the adverse report. He said that this measure, if adopted, would give relief in the impending commercial crisis, and that it was the duty of the Legislature to recognize the needs of the people in such emergencies, and quoted from the report of the investigating committee of 1901 that it was within the province of the state to give to honest men with families the opportunity for employment when such opportunity was denied them in periods of great industrial depression.

Dana of Newton, a Republican, opposed it on the ground that the state should not care for the individual that they should not aid in setting up a paternal government and destroy that individual independence that was the basis of society today.

The House then adjourned, and the matter came up again the next afternoon. Representative Callender, though a Republican and a member of the committee that had given the adverse report, took issue with his party associates. The bill was then passed by a vote of 100 to 90.

When he concluded, the capitalist interest in the body to some extent applauded him. Carey instantly arose, and said: "Stand up, you members who applaud. Stand up, you who applaud this sentiment of snarling as expressed by the Republican leader. One of them half rose in response to Carey's call and then dropped back into his seat as though ashamed. Carey continued with an impassioned speech in which he showed that the doctrine of the individual being superior to the government was the doctrine that served the arm of Chicago. This was the doctrine of the Anarchist, and here stands the recognized Republican leader of the House side by side with the Anarchist, declaring that the individual is greater than the government in its organized capacity. He drove the capitalist representatives into a hole from which they could not extricate themselves. But they defeated the measure when it came to a vote. One more point on which we must appeal to the people.

DIVIDE AND SUBJUGATE.

Haverhill Capitalists Rejoice in Workers' Strife.

Old Party Politicians Making the Most of Union Bitterness—By Fostering Discord and Exalting Race Prejudices They Hope to Defeat Socialists.

HAVERHILL, Mass., April 4.—A fight between two rival unions of shoemakers has been going on for about two months in Haverhill. It is the policy of The Worker not to take sides in affairs of this kind, but when the fight is between the workers and the capitalists it is necessary to take the side of the workers.

This policy has also been maintained by the Haverhill Socialists during the present "strike." But nevertheless the capitalist politicians and all the press of this city have eagerly seized upon the opportunity furnished by the strike situation and are constantly circulating all kinds of deliberate lies and misstatements with hope of causing dissatisfaction among Socialist voters.

There are about 150 men on strike, most of whom reside in Ward 5, the Socialist stronghold. The politicians consider this to be their chance to defeat Representative Carey, if he should be re-elected. By causing a split in the labor vote, a trick which has often been tried in Europe and failed, as no doubt it will in this instance.

Appeal to National Prejudices. Most of the strikers are French-Canadians who have voted the straight Socialist ticket for the past five years. An attempt is being made to work upon their national prejudice in addition to their present strong antipathy toward the rival union.

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TAFF VALE LAW FOR VERMONT.

The Bosses Get Damages Against Strikers.

Union Members' Property Attached—Most Indemnity Employers for Cost of Private Police and Seaboard House—British Precedent is Quickly Followed.

PUTLAND, Vt., April 5.—The damage suit of the F. R. Patch Manufacturing Company against Protection Lodge, No. 215, Independent Association of Machinists, was decided today, the jury returning a verdict in favor of the manufacturers, after having deliberated twenty hours. The company sued for \$10,000 damages, alleged to have been suffered as the result of a strike of the machinists some time ago. The jury awarded \$2,500. The strike was for recognition of the union.

Among the items of expense for which the company claimed indemnification were the cost of maintaining a boarding house for the scabs, whom no other boarding house keepers would entertain, and of hiring a force of private police.

The New York "Evening Post" gives the following information to that effect in the dispatch: "The strike began on May 12 last. The company secured enough non-union men to do the work of the 200 or so men who struck, and continued to fill orders. The strikers and their sympathizers did everything in their power, according to their own testimony, to hinder and embarrass the Patch Company. They induced workmen to leave the employ of the company, and boycotted its products."

Union Men's Property Attached. "When the suit was brought, over one hundred writs were served on the members of the union. Every piece of available property belonging to any member was attached, and the lawyers say that the Patch Company can recover the judgment from this property."

A Precedent Quickly Followed. The precedent set in England by the Taft Vale and Denby decisions is being taken advantage of by the employers, even more readily than was expected. As has already been reported in The Worker, a suit similar to the one just decided in Vermont, has been brought by the Connecticut Railway and Lighting Company against the trades unions of Waterbury, and is now awaiting trial.

Meanwhile, the Socialist vote grows, even in Vermont.

VICTORIES IN MONTANA.

Other States Also Send Inspiring News.

Socialists Carry Anaconda, and Elect an Alderman in Butte and Two in Battle Creek—Hartford Shows a Big Gain—Other Election Reports.

BUTTE, Mont., April 6.—Socialists elect Mayor, Treasurer, Police Magistrate, and three out of six Aldermen in Anaconda.

We lose Butte by only four hundred votes out of a total of 5,500. We elect one Alderman here. Capitalism is shattered. C. S.

In Michigan Too. BATTLE CREEK, Mich., April 7.—The Socialist Party elected two Aldermen in the city election held here yesterday.

The Worker is not yet positively informed whether this means that we have re-elected the two Socialist Aldermen elected in Battle Creek last year, or whether these hold over and we have added two more to the list. The latter seems to be the case.

Gain in Connecticut. HARTFORD, Conn., April 7.—The Socialist Party polled 629 votes in the city election today. A year ago we had 537 and two years ago 120. Hartford is moving.

Our vote by wards this year is as follows: First, 41; Second, 111; Third, 53; Fourth, 26; Fifth, 30; Sixth, 57; Seventh, 78; Eighth, 59; Ninth, 53; Tenth, 21. We gained over the vote a year ago in every ward except the second. Two years ago we had no votes at all in the Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth. The Sixth shows the biggest gain in the last year—from 13 to 57.

GREAT STRIKE IN HOLLAND.

All Transportation Industries Affected.

Primarily Intended as a Protest Against the Proposed Legislation to Penalize Striking—Similar Strike Won Suffrage Extension in Belgium.

Rotterdam, April 6.—The Workers' Committee of Defense at Amsterdam, acting under authority given it by the labor organizations throughout Holland, declared a general strike of all labor employed in transportation by land or water. This strike is intended as a protest against the anti-strike bills, and also to support the demand of the railroad men for an increase of wages before the passage of the bills made an improvement in their position impossible.

The strike is spreading to other branches of labor. The diamond cutters of Amsterdam joined on the first day. This is one of the most important industries of the city. On Tuesday the workmen of the building trades in Rotterdam and many of the bakers at Amsterdam and The Hague joined in the strike. The great majority of the railway and dock workers and wagon drivers throughout the country came out promptly.

Government Alarmed. The government is evidently alarmed and all sorts of rumors are current with the Workers' Committee. At the same time a show of police and military force was made and on Monday blood was shed—workmen's blood—in two cases at Amsterdam. A blood-bath of workmen charged a crowd of strikers and one of the latter was wounded with a salve. A workman was wounded by a revolver shot fired by a soldier this morning. The man was walking on the railroad, was not aware that the strike had been proclaimed and failed to reply to the soldier's challenge.

The dispatches say: "The whole country is placarded with inflammatory Socialist proclamations warning the public not to trust themselves on a railway worked by incapable men. At the same time the Socialist organs are urging the strikers to avoid collisions with the troops." It is admitted that the strikers maintain excellent order and discipline.

The Army Disaffected. One of the most interesting features from the capitalist point of view, the most serious is that the government is doubtful whether it can depend on the army against the strikers. It is known that many of the soldiers are Socialists and, of course, in full sympathy with the strike, and there is general disaffection in the ranks.

The Netherlands Railroad Company on Monday posted a notice urging its employees to resume work, and adding that if they did not do so within twenty-four hours all the workmen would be discharged. Tuesday's dispatches say: "The proclamation issued by the railway companies that strikers will be dismissed and lose their pension rights has given the men a pause, and many have already resumed work, enabling the companies to make the service more regular. There are other indications that the strike is losing ground. Students and others are offering their services as drivers and baggage porters." It is believed, however, that this statement is greatly exaggerated.

A LIVING INDICTMENT OF THE PROFIT SYSTEM.

Hardly could there be imagined a more terribly dramatic indictment of capitalism than the pitiful figure of Engineer Barcliff.

Read the story, as told in the press dispatches:

NEWARK, N. J., April 5.—Oscar Barcliff, the engine driver whose train was in collision with the trolley car of the Clifton Avenue line on Feb. 10, when nine High School pupils were killed and almost three score injured, has recovered physically, but his mind is gone, at least temporarily. Barcliff raves about his engine all the time and keeps his hands busy constantly, manipulating imaginary throttles and levers and testing valves. All the time when not asleep he is at work, and seemingly is making his daily runs over and over.

"Owing to his condition he has had to be removed from the place in the hospital which was given him when he was getting better. This is the one most sought for by patients, as it overlooks the entrance of the hospital on High street and there is always something in the busy street to amuse the patient. It was thought the location would arouse in Barcliff's mind some interest other than the never-ending manipulation of his imaginary locomotive, but it was noticed that every time he looked out of the window he would suddenly become more energetic and go through all the motions of shutting off the steam and applying the brakes for a quick stop.

"This went on for some time without the reason becoming apparent, and it was supposed that seeing the persons and wagons on the street caused him to do as he did. No long as he did look out of the window he went through his motions, but after a while he was followed by the quick stop motions. One of the attendants finally solved the trouble. Standing near the entrance of the hospital, in such a position that it was the first thing the engineer's eyes rested upon, was a statue of St. Michael. It is done in color and in life size. The clock has a red-colored cape and it was the color that disturbed the engineer. He imagined the red cape to be a danger signal."

Imagine the incessant torture that man is suffering—and for whose fault? For the fault of a railway company and a trolley company, both enormously rich, whose officers, directors, and stockholders stubbornly refused to spend any portion of their unearned income to safeguard human life by doing away with grade crossings or even by providing comparatively inexpensive safety appliances.

Think how forcibly that engineer must have realized the danger to himself and others every time he made the run, that it should now so persistently haunt him.

Remember the thousands killed and the tens of thousands maimed every year on the railways of the United States from a collective body of public servants.

THE GLOBE FAIR

Net Proceeds Probably between \$7,000 and \$9,000—Announcements.

The Daily Globe Fair is over, for which so much work has been done during many months past. The financial result is impossible to state accurately, as some accounts are not yet settled, especially for tickets. It is thought safe to say, however, that the net proceeds of the Fair to be added to the Daily Globe Fund will be between \$7,000 and \$9,000. This is, however, only a rough estimate. Definite information will be given as soon as possible.

Secretary Hutscher has his office at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, where he may be seen or addressed by mail on any business connected with the Fair or with the Daily Globe Fund in any way. Comrades or organizations who have not yet settled for tickets taken should lose no time in reporting on them, turning in money or tickets, so that all accounts may be settled without needless delay.

The result of the voting contests which excited much interest on the last two days, may be given as follows: As the most popular trades unionist Bo. of the Typographical Union No. 6 received a handsome gold watch. The most popular lady worker at the Fair was declared to be Miss Johanna Dahme. She also has a gold watch to remind her of it.

The desk went to George Bauman of Cigar Packers No. 231, as the most popular unionist.

John Kilgus of the Brotherhood of Painters won the carriage, as the favorite among business agents.

Michael Brayer of the Cloth Spongers led the list of union presidents and got a gold pocket in evidence of it. The gavel was awarded to Cigar-makers No. 141.

Finally, the six Arm and Torch emblems went to the Social Democratic Educational Club of the 8th A. D., the Socialist Literary Society, the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville, the Bohemian Turn Verein Sokol, the 7-25th A. D., and the 12th A. D., in the order named.

CORPORATION SECRET. Foreigner—How are your Senators elected? American—None of them will tell. Turk.

—We wish to double the circulation of The Worker in the next six months. Will you help us?

TO SUBSCRIBERS.
The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.
The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.
No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!
Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.—NO. 4. NEW YORK, APRIL 26, 1903. PRICE 2 CENTS.

WHAT "FREEDOM OF CONTRACT" MEANS

Demands Made by International Harvester Company upon Its Employees.

Claims for Damages Arising from Killing of Workmen for Profit to be Paid out of Employees' Wages and Company Released from All Liability—Deal Barons go It One Better.

The following is an exact copy of a contract demanded by the International Harvester Company of its employees:

"PERSONAL SERVICE CONTRACT.
This Agreement Witnesseth, that I, _____, agree to serve the International Harvester Company (a corporation) at Iroquois, Ill., as an employee so long as shall be mutually agreeable to said parties; and

"Whereas, said International Harvester Company is insured by The Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation, Limited, against bodily injuries sustained by the workmen of said International Harvester Company at its Iroquois Works, during their employment, effected solely and exclusively by external, violent and accidental means, by virtue whereof, it is provided in the policy covering such insurance, subject, however, to the conditions and limitations therein expressed, that such workmen shall receive indemnity as follows:

No Worker's Life Worth More than \$1,500.

"A. If the death of any such employee shall result within ninety days from such injuries, independently of all other causes, the corporation will pay to the insured a sum equal to twenty-six weeks' wages, computed at the rate per week received by such injured employee at date of accident, but such sum shall not exceed one thousand five hundred dollars.

"B. If such injuries, independently of all other causes, shall immediately, continuously and wholly disable and prevent any such employee from engaging in any other work, the corporation will pay to the insured an amount equal to one-half his average weekly wages for the period of such disability, not exceeding twenty-six weeks in respect of any one accident.

"C. If any such employee shall within ninety days as the result of such injuries, independently of all other causes, lose by actual separation at or above the wrist or ankle both hands or both feet, or one hand and one foot, or shall irreversibly lose the entire sight of both eyes, the corporation will pay the amount specified in clause 'A' above for death, such payment to be in lieu of the benefit as given by clause 'B'.

"D. If any such employee shall, within ninety days as the result of such injuries, independently of all other causes, lose by actual separation at or above the wrist or ankle one hand or one foot, the corporation will pay one-third the amount specified in clause 'A' above for death, such payment to be in lieu of the benefit as given by clause 'B'.

"E. If any such employee shall, within ninety days as the result of such injuries, independently of all other causes, lose the entire sight of one eye, the corporation will pay in satisfaction of all claims for such injury, a sum equal to one-eighth the amount specified in clause 'A' above for death, such payment to be in lieu of the benefit as given by clause 'B'.

"Now, therefore, it is understood and agreed that immediate notice to International Harvester Company at its office in Iroquois of any injury with full particulars must be given, and proof of death or loss of limb or of sight or of duration of disability must be furnished. If within sixty days from the date of death, loss of limb or sight or of the termination of disability; also that the injured employee will be furnished, without expense, through the physician and surgeon of the company with such medical and surgical attendance as may be considered by him necessary to the treatment of any injuries covered hereby, and any medical adviser so appointed shall be allowed to examine the deceased body of said employee, if and when required.

"This insurance shall not cover injuries of which there is no visible mark on body, the body itself in case of death not to be deemed such mark; nor disappearance, nor suicide, nor insanity; nor accident, nor injuries, nor disability, nor death, nor loss of limb or sight, resulting wholly or partly, directly or indirectly, from voluntary overexertion as unnecessary or negligent exposure to apparent danger, from intoxication or while intoxicated, from or while violating law, from benefit, from disease in any form, either as a cause or effect, while insane or afflicted with any bodily infirmity or deformity, from medical or surgical treatment, except amputations necessitated solely by injuries and made within ninety days after accident, from fits, vertigo, sleep walking, from any gas, vapor or poison, or contact with poisonous substances, from sun-stroke, lightning, lightning, war or riot; nor shall it cover the result of injuries, fatal or otherwise.

The Money Comes Out of Employees' Wages.

"And in consideration of this agreement and of the benefits to be derived hereunder said employee hereby subscribes to the insurance plan, above specified and as provided in said policy evidencing same and authorizes said International Harvester Company to deduct 2 per cent. of all the wages of said employee at the regular pay-days thereof, which amounts as deducted, it is agreed, shall be the only deductions made in respect thereof, to secure said benefits; and it is expressly understood that such authorization by said em-

DISCIPLINE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Old Party Press Tries to Make Capital of It.

Socialist Party in Boston Finds It Necessary to Suspend Martha Moore Avery—Capitalist Press Laughing Too Soon over "Disintegration" of the Party.

BOSTON, Mass., April 19.—An incident has taken place in our party affairs in this city during the past week which, had it occurred in either of the old parties, would have received passing notice from the daily press, but nothing more. In our case the press has seized upon it with avidity and paraded it before the public as a "sensational" episode tending to the disintegration of the party.

The incident referred to was the trial, conviction and suspension for a period of two years of a member of the party for conduct unworthy of a comrade and injurious to the movement.

For some time the members have viewed with deep concern the actions of Martha Moore Avery, and it was felt the time had arrived when it should put the seal of its disapproval upon the conduct of the woman who has made common cause with our enemies, and that under cover of membership in the party. So in a regular and constitutional manner charges were preferred against Mrs. Avery, and a trial was held, based upon an article written by her and published in the "Irish World."

She was unanimously found guilty by the committee, and all but one of the committee concurred in a recommendation for expulsion. There was a question in the minds of delegates as to the wisdom of expelling the comrade, and a motion to suspend for a period of two years was carried. This action has been submitted to the branches for their approval or disapproval.

In her article in the "Irish World" Mrs. Avery charged that the Socialist Party was dominated by atheists and free lovers, and called upon the young men of the Catholic faith to rescue the movement from such control. This was clearly a false statement about the party and a bid for capitalist favor. The statement that the party is controlled by advocates of atheism and free love is quite in keeping with the methods by which the most shameless of the capitalist press have been seeking to discredit the movement.

We expect, and in fact, court antagonism from the defenders of the present system, for we do not want their smiles nor fear their frowns. But we cannot be expected to view with complacency the attacks of those who pretend to believe in Socialism, and especially of one who has been looked upon in some quarters as a leader. It is often difficult to determine the motives which actuate people in the things that they do, especially if these people are strangers to us. But when we know the person from of old it is easy to look below the surface, and the motive is clearly apparent. So it is in the case of Mrs. Avery. Ever since her entrance into the Socialist Party she has striven to do things according to her own liking, and when she found herself in a minority and could not rule, then she tried to ruin.

Now, in consequence of the party moving in this matter, the hostile press see again the end of Red lies. With them, however, "the wish is father to the thought." That we should maintain discipline in our movement seems to the capitalist press a thing because they cannot understand our philosophy. They are used to trim their sails to suit any wind that blows, and that we should insist upon honor and integrity on the part of our members is beyond their ken. The comrades can be sure that the action of the central body was not hasty, but one that had been deliberated upon and one also that seems to meet with general approval on the part of the party members.

In the state convention, last September, Mrs. Avery introduced a resolution condemning atheism and free love. At that time she reported in The Worker, the convention, after full discussion, rejected the proposition, taking the ground that it is not proper for a political party either to endorse or to condemn any phase of religious belief or dissent, and that such a declaration as was proposed had no place in a political convention. Certainly this was a common-sense view to take of the matter. What would have been thought, for instance, if a corresponding resolution had been introduced at the Republican national convention when Robert G. Ingersoll put James G. Blaine in nomination? Or if a similar proposition had been made against Ambassador White on account of his book on the conflict of religion and science? Yet the old-party press, which would have ridiculed such a proposition in either of these cases, promptly tried to twist the rejection of the resolution by our state convention into an official endorsement of the ideas of atheism and free love—with how little success was shown at the polls in November, in December, and again in March.

Time passed and the Boston city convention was held. Mrs. Avery was a candidate for nomination for School Committee and was defeated. She took the defeat hard, and in conversation with a comrade made the threat that she would yet win. And then followed the attack in the press by Mrs. Avery. It can be viewed in no other light than that of a personal disavowal and a desire to ruin where she could not rule.

On the following day after the action of the Central Committee, Mrs. Avery appeared in print in the Boston "Traveler," saying that, while she had the right of appeal, she did not know whether she would avail herself of it; that she now saw in the trade union the power that would emancipate the workers and she would work in that movement. Perhaps the trade union may have something to say about those who shall be selected as its spokesmen. Mrs. Avery's relation to the trade union was made very clear while a member of the Socialist Labor Party in the strike at Marlboro in 1900 and she has much to explain in regard to her condemnation of the trade union and her indiscriminate branding of the labor leaders as fakirs.

It is to be regretted that action to maintain discipline has been made necessary. But despite the unpleasantness of such affairs, the party will not fail to meet them fearlessly when they arise. The capitalist press may parade them as it will. All the enemies of our movement may flatter themselves that these things mark the "disintegration" of the Socialist Party. Yet we know that these happenings are inevitable incidents to the building up of our movement, and that they will do no more harm than the progress of Socialism than putting out one's right hand would do the force of the mighty Niagara. No one will realize that better than Mrs. Avery herself, and so we leave this incident.

There was little doing in the Legislature the past week. The resolutions on municipal fuel yards and government ownership of the mines have been put off until Wednesday, April 22. The only measure of such interest to readers of The Worker was an attempt to reconsider the Anti-Blacklisting Bill, which had been defeated. A Democrat had introduced this bill, yet it was Carey who had to make the fight for reconsideration. The Democratic and Republican "friends of Labor" were silent, and not even the thirty members necessary for a roll-call could be secured in a House composed of two hundred and forty members, seventy of whom are Democrats.

On Wednesday of this week Representative MacCarthy meets City Clerk Fry in a debate on Socialism, at the Holbrook town hall. A crowded house is assured.

NEW HAVEN ELECTION.

Good Increase in Straight Socialist Vote at the City Elections.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., April 21.—The city election is over and we know the result of the vigorous campaign we have made. Our vote is as follows, by wards:

First Ward	10
Second	62
Third	150
Fourth	79
Fifth	82
Sixth	37
Seventh	80
Eighth	67
Ninth	78
Tenth	17
Eleventh	22
Twelfth	72
Thirteenth	6
Fourteenth	4
Fifteenth	13

Total 713
As is always the case here, our vote in the city election is somewhat less than that in the state election. Last spring we had 310 for our city ticket and last fall 244 for our state ticket. Our straight vote, as measured by the city elections, is thus more than doubled in the year.

EVER FORWARD IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON, Mass., April 17.—Once more an election has been held and the result is not an important election, but enough to add a little to our confidence of speedy victory and to the alarm in the capitalist camp.

The death of a member of the Board of Selectmen of Braintree, a conservative old town near this city, necessitated a special election. Out of a total vote of 451, the Socialist candidate, Comrade Gerry, received 212. The change of thirteen votes would have elected him. At the state election in November our candidate for Governor had but 193 votes out of a total of 861.

STEADY GAINS IN NEW JERSEY.

KEARNEY, N. J., April 18.—In the local election held in this township on Tuesday the Socialist Party polled 84 votes as compared with 49 a year ago. We elected two of our candidates—Otto Miller and Andrew Berglund—as Constables in the Third Ward. Gradually, but sure and steadily, Socialist ideas are gaining ground, and the comrades feel that the results so far achieved are enough to inspire them for another year's work.

MORE MONTANA NEWS.

HELENA, Mont., April 14.—In addition to the news from Anaconda and Butte, which we have already reported, it is to be noted that the Socialist Party elected three out of the five Aldermen chosen in Red Lodge, and that good gains were made in Missoula, Rathbun, Fergus, Cascade, Yellowstone, and Gallatin.

IOWA ELECTIONS.

The Socialist Party has elected another Congressman, this time in Boone, Ia. The Socialist vote for the whole city was 410 as against 702 for the Republicans and 319 for the Democrats.

IN ILLINOIS.

The town election in Rockford, Ill., gave the Socialist Party ticket 670 votes, against 1,500 for the old parties. The Rockford "Republican" says: "The Socialists made a showing which tells they are growing. Considering the total vote cast the Socialists have every reason for feeling encouraged over their part of it."

THE OHIO ELECTIONS.

The general results of the municipal elections are very satisfactory, writes State Secretary Critchlow, and the comrades are now working harder than ever to get everything in shape for the fall campaign. The official count from Youngstown gives from 135 to 220 votes instead of the amount reported formerly. This is a large increase and they feel much elated over the results. Cuyahoga Falls received two votes in their first attempt, which is good for the size of the town. Many comrades outside of the state fall to comprehend the terrible struggle that took place here this year. The state Legislature in special session adopted an entirely new set of laws for the government of municipalities. These laws were a radical departure from the old system and were made in such a manner as to give the municipal officers largely increased salaries and unusual powers of appointment. The mayors are granted an unusual amount of patronage to distribute among the faithful. On account of these new laws all city officers were elected this spring, thus making a new set entirely. Both parties made the greatest fight ever known in the history of the state. They held open-air meetings, ward meetings, house-to-house canvases, and, in fact, adopted every method that is known to the Socialists for propaganda work. In spite of all this work we have not only held our own, but in nearly every case have increased our vote, and in many cases doubled and trebled it. Thus the comrades have great reason to be proud of the results attained. The battle will now be a fight for governor, and we will systematically our work to such an extent that we hope to have every county organized and the majority of them working with a ticket in the fall. The fight in Ohio is on from now, and we hope to show the people such a fight as will put them out of the business entirely in the near future. Ohio will bear watching.

A RULE OF ORGANIZATION.

Leave all prejudices and personal animosities outside the door of the union hall. He man enough to know your enemy's virtues and your friend's faults, and to vote for or with your enemy or against your friend when your calm judgment tells you that the welfare of the union will be served by your so doing.—The Carpenter.

FATHER MCGURDY IN BUFFALO.

Father McGurdy will speak in Buffalo, N. Y., on Sunday afternoon, April 20, at 2:30 p. m. in Turn Hall, 383 E. 11th street, and offers an open challenge to debate upon that occasion with any representative of the Catholic Federation of Buffalo on the relation of Socialism and religion. Admission, 15 cents. The challenge to debate has been sent by registered letter to the president of the Catholic Federation.

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BUY UNION MADE GOODS.

A BUILDERS' BLACKLIST.

Letter of Interstate Builders' and Contractors' Association.

A Thoroughly American Document
Showing that the American Workmen Is the Fastest Going on Earth and that the Employer Is His Best Friend.

The Worker has received a copy of a private circular letter sent out to master builders and contractors by the Western, R. L. Local Assembly of the Interstate Builders', Contractors' and Dealers' Association, dated April 2, in the following terms:

"Dear Sir:—The carpenters, painters, and plumbers of Western are on strike. The Carpenters' Union has a three-year contract with the master builders which does not expire until July, 1903. Nevertheless, the carpenters are out. They say, 'To Hell with the contract.' We address you to ask you to notify the members of your association not to hire any carpenters, painters, or plumbers from here. The enclosed is a list of the strikers, which is nearly correct. It may come your turn next, and when it does we shall be pleased to reciprocate. We would suggest that your organization enter into some agreement with our main body covering this matter, as the more territory covered, the more influence is exercised. Very truly yours,
"J. B. MAXWELL, Secretary."

Boycotting is un-American and the labor movement must be Americanized, as Senator Hanna says. But it is quite American to ask your brother capitalists to refrain from employing a workman who dares to go on strike.

NEW ROCHELLE TAKEN ITS TURN.

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., April 21.—The workmen of this place are to have their share of the injunction experience. At the suit of Messrs. Switzer, Woods & Fowler, who employ master builders, Supreme Court Justice Marcron of Brooklyn has issued an order to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Building Trades Council, and various individuals as officers of these bodies, to show cause by April 24 why an injunction should not be issued restraining them and everybody else from "in any way interfering" with the business of the plaintiffs.

A strike of the building trades has been on for some time and has been conducted with perfect order and with remarkable success so far, a large part of the men brought in to take the strikers' places having quit when the situation was explained to them. To explain to such a man that he is being used by the Builders' and Contractors' Association against his fellow workmen is, of course, to "interfere" with the strikers' business—hence the injunction.

CARPENTERS' STRIKE.

Tactics of Division by Which the Capitalists Weaken the Forces of Labor.

The fight between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, with headquarters at Manchester, England, which has led to the present strike of carpenters in this city, is the culmination of a long series of grievances extending over a number of years. Some eight years ago about ten or eleven different carpenters' organizations existed in this city, whose differences were carefully fanned by the capitalist organizations of master builders, master carpenters and manufacturers for the purpose of playing one against the other and exploiting all.

The Brotherhood and the Amalgamated were both then in the field. The policy of the Brotherhood as a national organization has been since its inception in 1881, to unite all the workers in the craft into one powerful organization, and secure thorough unity of action. With such success were these laborers prosecuted that the city today has over 1,500 local unions in the United States and Canada, and a membership of over 165,000, and has grown to be the second largest labor union, and the largest organization of mechanics in the world. It has paid to its members in sick, death, and disability benefits the enormous sum of \$3,000,000, and is today financially stronger than ever. It has absorbed one after another of the carpenters' organizations of this city, until at the beginning of 1901 only the Brotherhood and the Amalgamated remained. At the present time the membership in this city is 12,000; the total membership of the Amalgamated Society in the fifty-four branches in the United States and Canada is 3,515, of whom 534 belong to the six branches in New York and Brooklyn. These figures are taken from their official report printed in Manchester.

Up to September, 1898, a national agreement had existed between the two organizations, but owing to the fact that redress could not be had for numerous violations of this agreement by the Amalgamated Society, the tenth biennial convention of the Brotherhood in that year abrogated it. Local agreements were tried for several years thereafter, but proved unsatisfactory owing to the actions of the Amalgamated Society, such as falsifying, suspending, and expelling members of the Brotherhood, opposing the efforts of the latter organization to stop

NEW YORK MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION.

The First of May, the day dedicated to the expression of the international solidarity of Labor and its determination to win industrial freedom, will be celebrated by the Socialists and progressive workmen of New York City by a great mass meeting in Madison Square, between Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth streets, on Friday evening, May 1.

Speakers well known as champions of Labor's rights and exponents of Labor's aspirations will address the meeting.

Workingmen of New York, of whatever trade, of whatever race or nationality or religion, all who resent capitalist class rule and look forward to a better social order, turn out next Friday evening and register your protest against the conditions under which you and your wives and children suffer. Begin this summer's agitation for freedom and progress with an impressive demonstration on the First of May.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

the use of unfair trim and other shop carpenter work, which for years has threatened the existence of local mechanics; also the actions of the representatives of the Amalgamated Society who continuously strove to displace the Brotherhood men on the best jobs in the city by demanding recognition on the buildings and creating all possible trouble when their demands were not complied with.

Finally, in the early part of 1901, the conditions became so unbearable that the District Council of the Brotherhood decided "immediately to take steps to bring about one organization of carpenters." The Building Trades Council, with which both organizations were affiliated at that time, was notified of this resolution, but took no action. Shortly thereafter a firm of builders undertook to use non-union trim on two buildings located at Sixty-third street and Madison avenue, and at Battery Park. The Brotherhood men working on the building in Sixty-third street were discharged, being told that they would not handle that stuff anyhow; and on the following day Amalgamated men took their places. The Brotherhood then declared a strike on all work being done by this firm, and the work against the Amalgamated was on.

Despite the efforts of the Amalgamated Society to fill the places vacated by the Brotherhood by importing men from Boston, Washington and other cities, and advertising for non-union men to take out cards in their organization and all the places of the strikers, they failed; and after a few days the Brotherhood won and all Amalgamated men were removed from these jobs. It was then they sought the assistance of the Building Trades Council and that body demanded that the Brotherhood abrogate their agreement with this firm and have the Amalgamated men reinstated, which the Brotherhood refused to do. Suspensions from the Building Trades Council followed, and the Brotherhood entered the Board of Delegates of the Building Trades. All trades connected with the Council then struck against this firm to secure the reinstatement of the Amalgamated men on their work, and after a strike of several weeks duration, were defeated, returned to work, dissolved the Building Trades Council, and joined into a new body with the Board of Delegates under the name of "United Brotherhood," which body is in existence today. By this action both the Brotherhood and Amalgamated again became members of the same central body.

However, immediately after the formation of this body it decided "that all trades remain neutral in all matters as to and between the United Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Carpenters." The war went on. The Amalgamated persistently refused all overtures and proposals for an amalgamation of the two organizations.

Last spring a strike of nearly two hundred Brotherhood men took place on the Stokes Hotel at Seventy-third street and Broadway against unfair trim received from Detroit. No Amalgamated men were then working on the job. This grievance was found just, and supported by all other trades stopping work in sympathy with the Brotherhood. In a week's time the matter was settled by the contractors signing an agreement to rectify the matter, and the trades returned to work. Within a day or two, however, it became apparent that the contractors did not intend to perform their part of the agreement, and the Brotherhood men again stopped work. Then the Amalgamated carpenters went to work in the places of the striking Brotherhood men. Complaint being made to the Board of Delegates by the Brotherhood, they refused to take action and the Brotherhood consequently severed its connection with the Board.

As both the Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Society are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood preferred charges against the Amalgamated to the convention of the A. F. of L. at New Orleans last November, citing their grievances and demanding the revocation of the charter of the rival body. The convention, after a full discussion of the case, decided that the Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Society were each to appoint a committee of five, these to select an impartial eleventh person as umpire, for the purpose of amalgamating the two organizations; this committee to meet within ninety days from the adjournment of the convention.

This promised to bring peace to the trade and effect the desired result. The Amalgamated Society, however, immediately after the close of the convention inaugurated a number of strikes against builders employing Brotherhood men, demanding that half of these be replaced with Amalgamated men. In this they were assisted by the Board of Delegates. When, in February last, the two committees of five met in New York City pursuant to the resolution of the A. F. of L., the representatives of the Amalgamated Society refused to agree to amalgamate the two organizations as decided, and refused to select an impartial umpire. If they would consent to was to make another agree-

ANTI-STRIKE LAW IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

A bill has passed the South Carolina Senate which prohibits cotton and woolen factories and their operatives from engaging in sympathetic strikes and lockouts. The penalty is a fine of \$100 a day. So far as lockouts are concerned, the houses can easily close a mill and say that business was bad or that to grant higher wages or reduction of hours will bankrupt them. That the Southern capitalists think it necessary to demand such a law is eloquent testimony to the awakening of the wage-workers of the South.

—The May Day Number of The Worker (next week's issue) should be distributed, not only at public meetings held by the party but in factories, in union meetings, and wherever workmen can be reached.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

CAPITALISTS ORGANIZING.

Remarkable Marshalling of Forces Within the Last Two Years.

Organizations to "Harmonize" Capital and Labor, to Miseducate the Workers, to Defeat Labor Legislation, to Blacklist Workmen, All Run in Unison for a Single End.

The past two years, and more especially within the last six months, have seen a most remarkable movement of organization on the part of the capitalist class. The number and variety of capitalist associations formed for the purpose of dealing in one way or another with the labor question is most suggestive of serious alarm on the part of the capitalist class.

First we had the Civic Federation, which was to settle the labor question forever by the method of conciliation. From the beginning it was a shallow enough force, and it did not take long to see that its purpose was to patronize and support the most conservative labor leaders, to throw discredit upon aggressive organizations, to alienate public sympathy from workmen forced to strike. The participation of pitiless labor leaders in its organization and the completely capitalistic character of the representatives of the "disinterested public" were quite in keeping with this object.

While the Civic Federationists were still loudly talking of their plans for bringing about harmony between Capital and Labor, however, new organizations sprung to the front.

First the National Association of Manufacturers attracted general attention. This body, which is now rapidly increasing its membership, has for its main object the watching of Congress and the legislature to defeat any labor laws that might otherwise chance to slip through, the mobilizing, so to speak, of the forces of capitalist corruption, and the operation of a press bureau for maligning and misrepresenting the labor movement.

Close on the heels of the Manufacturers' Association followed the National Economic League, describing itself as an "impartial educational movement to oppose Socialism and class-baiting." This organization, certainly liberally endowed for its task, carries on its work, actually one of prejudice and miseducation, on a grand scale, circulating enormous quantities of literature designed for working-class readers. Nor does it confine its opposition to "Socialism and class-baiting." A large part of its pamphlets are directed against the shorter workday, against the union of the unions to labor in the "driving" of workmen and the employment of children under the guise of apprenticeship, against virtually all the methods by which the unions seek to defend themselves from capitalist aggression in the shop. "Our national property" is the phrase upon which they continually harp and the workmen are taught that by competing with each other, by working at the highest possible speed, by subordinating every other thought to that of increasing the output, they may hope to perpetuate this prosperity and possibly to share in it to some small extent.

Next came the news of the organization of "non-union unions" in different parts of the country, under the patronage of employers and with the enthusiastic approval of the most ardent enemies of labor in the capitalist press. Among the declared objects of these bastard unions are the maintenance of employment bureaus and the defeat of "unjust strikes." It is easy to guess who will decide which strikes are unjust and to what uses the employment agencies will be turned in breaking them.

Finally, as a fitting climax to this series, came a startling exposure of the activity and the methods and purposes of the National Metal Trades Association—the raising of funds to assist affiliated employers in fighting the unions, the blacklisting of obnoxious thoughtful and self-respecting workmen, the systematic supply of scabs to break strikes, and the putting of spies into the ranks of the labor organizations to betray their plans to the bosses. In other industries there are similar organizations, though none of them, probably, are quite so highly developed as this.

Two considerations throw a clear light upon these organizations and show them all as parts of one great movement of reaction.

First, in the National Economic League we find men who are also prominent in the Civic Federation; in the National Association of Manufacturers we find men who are also members of the Economic League; in the National Metal Trades Association we find men who belong to both of the preceding; and the great capitalist newspaper organs which hailed the "conciliation" methods of the Civic Federation as the sure solution of the labor question also hail the formation of the "non-union unions" as a means of breaking the power of the bona fide labor organizations. With their ostensibly so different aims and methods, they all seek to work together for a common end—the disorganization of the whole labor movement.

Second, these organizations attack their attacks against Socialism and trade unionism at once. They see that these two are not separate and independent movements, but merely two phases of the same tendency, a tendency inevitably arising out of capitalist conditions. They are right in this. Every argument which capitalist advocates can bring against Socialism is an embodiment of class feeling and a means to business interests with equal force against any form of trade unionism that deserves the name. Every argument which can be brought to the support of the trade unions falls

SOCIALISTS ARRESTED.

FOR THE DAILY.

The Need of a Socialist and Trade Union Newspaper.

Omaha Politicians Trying to Suppress Outdoor Agitation—Salvation Army Not Interfered With.

OMAHA, Neb., April 23.—The Socialists have been having a hot time in Omaha this past week. Eleven of them have enjoyed the exhilarating experience of being arrested for daring to speak upon certain street corners and for four nights the police have been kept busy calling the patrol wagon to take "desperados" to the local bastille. The exact reason for this display of energy on the part of the city authorities is not quite clear, although the Socialists are reliably informed that it arises from a desire on the part of the present Mayor to fix the resulting blame upon the Board of Police Commissioners, which is under the control of an opposition candidate for Mayor. A sham fight is going on among three capitalist mayoralty candidates, as an approaching strike of the building trades on May 1, and the activity of the Socialists made it necessary to divert the working class voters by false issues.

The first Socialists arrested on Tuesday, April 21, were discharged with a warning next morning, but these taken up on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday nights were bound over until next Monday morning. In the meantime the Socialists have planned a big indignation meeting for Sunday night at which Comrade W. H. Moore, candidate for Mayor; J. E. Morgan, State Secretary; Bernard McCaffery, William Mallory, and W. E. Clark will be the speakers. The comrades arrested are P. J. Hyland, James W. Hawkins, Bernard McCaffery, E. Werner, J. A. Labille, John Paloralek, F. S. Wilbur, G. W. Hay, E. D. Whalen, G. Mark-stall and J. E. Morgan. The last named was arrested on Friday morning. Comrades McCaffery and Labille have been arrested twice and Hyland leads with three times to his credit.

A peculiar phase of the matter is that the Salvation Army and "Hollies" agitators are permitted to hold meetings and collect crowds on the same corners which the Socialists are forbidden to use. From interviews given out by the chief of police, it would seem that the authorities are attempting to intimidate the Socialists by the arrest of their leaders and perhaps in order to throw discredit upon the Socialist Party, but this attempt will be unsuccessful, as the Socialists are determined to fight the matter through to a finish along peaceable lines.

GAIN IN ELGIN.

ELGIN, Ill., April 22.—In the city election held here on Tuesday the Socialist Party cast 397 votes for Mayor, as against 236 cast for the head of our ticket last fall. We intend to keep on increasing this way at every count, if hard work will do it.

TO PROVIDENCE SOCIALISTS.

A meeting will be held at the house of Comrade A. P. Workman, 234 Wil-lard avenue, Sunday, May 17, at 3 P. M. for the purpose of organizing a local of the Socialist Party. All those wishing to join are urgently requested to attend.

INDIANA CONVENTION.

The Indiana State Convention opened April 23 at Indianapolis. State Secretary Orval of Terre Haute submitted an interesting report of the work done during the past year. There are now thirty-one local active and carrying on the agitation and forty-four others that only need attention to be put into good working order. The secretary recommended that each local appoint a dues collector, that an initiation fee of 25 cents be charged, the adoption of a system of reports that will ensure the ascertaining of the number of members at any time, the appointment of a state organizer to give his entire time to work in the field, and that provisions be made to have the State Secretary give his whole time to the organization.

CONVENTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Socialist Party of New Hampshire held its state convention at Concord on April 23. Thirty-one delegates were present from nine of the fourteen locals. Michael H. O'Neill called the body to order and Joseph H. Dunbar was chosen chairman, with Louis Arnsperg and D. E. G. Duff as secretaries. The report of State Secretary Arnsperg and Treasurer White-house showed the party out of debt and steadily gaining in membership. National Committee-man Clifton made a report on the St. Louis meeting, which was accepted. The present State Secretary and Treasurer were re-elected and a list of nominations made from which the members of the State Committee are to be chosen by general vote. Manfred Tibbets was chosen State Organizer and a considerable sum of money pledged to enable him to proceed with his work.

—The Socialist wave has struck Alaska, and as a result a club has been organized to sow the seed of the new economic thought in the gold fields of the Klondike—Miner's Magazine.

—The Socialists of Japan held a national congress at Osaka, April 5 to 7.

—Socialist clubs have sprung up at several of the principal places in the transvaal and Natal since the end of the South African war, and the British capitalists are likely to have even more trouble with united British and Boer workmen than they had with the Dutch republicans.

—Joe Washburn, former editor of the Chicago "Socialist," becomes editor of the Erie, Pa., "People" on May 1.

MAY DAY IN NEW YORK.

Great Mass Meeting to Be Held in Madison Square.

Brooklyn Holds Meeting on Friday and Festival on Saturday—Yorkville Celebration at Old Homestead Garden.

International Labor Day will be observed by Local New York of the Social Democratic Party and the labor organizations in sympathy with the movement by a demonstration taking the form of a mass meeting in Madison Square. Between Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth streets, on Friday evening, May 1, there will be three platforms, one of them for German speakers. Benjamin Hanford will be one of the principal speakers of the evening.

Every workman who is in accord with the international movement for the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery is urged to be present and take his part in the demonstration.

In Brooklyn.

On Friday evening a mass meeting will be held in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 340 Willoughby avenue, with well known speakers. On Saturday evening there will be a festival and ball at the same place, one feature of which will be the production of Frederick Krafft's play, "Now and Then." Everything has been done to assure the enjoyment of the guests and a good attendance is expected. Admission at the door will be 25 cents; tickets in advance, 15 cents. The net proceeds are to go to the fund for the establishment of the "Daily Globe."

In Yorkville.

The May Day demonstration of the districts represented in the Yorkville Agitation Committee will be held in Old Homestead Garden, on Third avenue, between Ninetieth and Ninety-first streets, on Friday evening, beginning at eight o'clock. Good speakers will address the meeting and excellent musical and dramatic talent has also been procured.

The Bohemian workmen's organizations will also take part, with the Bohemian branch of the Social Democratic Party, in a May Day festival on the same evening, at Bohemian National Hall, 321 East Seventy-third street.

PARTY ORGANIZATION.

The Socialist Party is now organized with state committees in thirty-one states and territories. In fourteen others it has local organizations and two of these—Alabama and Arkansas—are, as these words are written, engaged in forming their state organizations. Before the presidential campaign of 1904 begins we shall undoubtedly have complete organizations in every state and territory of the Union, assuring the nomination of candidates and the chance for every Socialist in the United States to record his will that this nation shall cease to be ruled in the interest of exploiters, that its affairs shall be administered for the common advantage of those who create all its wealth.

Readers of The Worker, we call on each of you to join and help in building up this party organization, to do your share in carrying the knowledge of Socialist principles to all our fellow-troilers and fellow-sufferers, that our progress may grow ever more and more rapid until our long continued efforts shall be crowned with final and complete victory—the Emancipation of Labor and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

LABOR MUST CAPTURE GOVERNMENT.

The struggle of classes with each other has an economic object, but the form of this struggle must necessarily be political; for, between the material position to be ameliorated and the accomplished amelioration, there rises up like a barrier the power of the state which alone, whatever class controls it, can give a general and mandatory character to the results of the struggle. The state makes the law, and it is only by placing oneself on the political ground that one can succeed in participating in the law making. History and reason agree in proving the truth of this thesis: the struggle of the "lower classes" is really effective only when it assumes a political character. —Gabriel Deville.

THE PURPOSE OF ARMIES.

But in reality the prime reason for all the armies of the world is that soldiers and militia may turn their guns upon their unfortunate countrymen when the owners of the earth shall speak the word. And these unfortunate countrymen are the outcast and despised, the meek and lowly ones of the world, the men whose ceaseless toil and unpaid efforts have built the forts and molded the cannon and equipped the soldiers that are used to shoot them down.

To say that these armies and frowning forts and galling guns are needed to maintain peace and order is to admit at once that the great mass of men are held captive by the more powerful few. Organized soldiers and policemen, courts and sheriffs, with guns and forts and jails, have the greatest advantage over the disorganized mass who cannot act together, and who know not which way to turn to keep outside the meshes of the law. Not one in a thousand need be trained to arms and authority to keep the unorganized mass in the place reserved for it to live. The purpose of guns and armies is to furnish the few an easy and sure way to capture the mass—Gladstone, D. D. Barry, in "Might Not Will."

COMPETITION AND MONOPOLY.

A year or two ago the Democratic politicians were notably declaiming against the trusts and demanding that they be "smashed." Just how it was to be done, not a man among them could say, but smashed the trusts must be. The Republican politicians were earnestly declaring that there were no trusts and therefore it was impossible to smash them.

To-day the Republicans are slaying a different sort of beast, there are trusts, they say; the trusts are a good thing, a great blessing to our country; they must be "curbed"—and we, the great Republican politicians (who are inside the trusts and therefore know all about them) are just the fellows to do it.

Equally has the Democratic cry been changed. Under the tutelage of William Howard Taft the Democratic orators are all proclaiming as with one voice: We must distinguish between the criminal trusts and those which are simply legitimate business combinations.

Malignant critics might suppose the Democratic rule for drawing this distinction to be: All trusts whose directors are prominent Democratic politicians and which contribute liberally to both old-party campaigns and funds are legitimate business combinations; trusts which discriminate in favor of the G. O. P. in the distribution of boodle are criminal trusts and must be extirpated—or made to "dig up." Of course this is a disingenuous view.

But what is a criminal trust? What is a good trust or legitimate business combination? Can anyone tell? The answer is plain enough: From the point of view of those who are inside or on top, all trusts are good; from the point of view of those who are outside or underneath, all trusts are bad. That is the only distinction that is worth making.

What is a trust? What is monopoly? How does it arise? Do you think it is something unnatural, foreign to the spirit of the competitive system, produced by the conspiracy of certain men to get special privileges? No. It is nothing of the sort. The trust is the normal outgrowth of the capitalist system. Monopoly is the natural and legitimate result of competition. Many of the trusts have been fostered, stimulated, hastened in their development by special privileges—protective tariffs, land-grants, bounties, subsidies, and the like. But without such aid trust develop in free-trade England as well as in protectionist America.

Special privilege is an accessory to, but not the cause of, the development of monopoly. Many of the tariff-nursed trusts have now reached the point where the repeal of all tariffs and other favorable legislation not only would not destroy them, but would not injure them in the least.

Put a lot of pike, big and little, in a tank together. Leave them alone and watch them. The big and middle-sized ones will eat the little ones and wax fat and prosperous. When the little ones are gone the big ones will eat the middle-sized, and the biggest will eat those not quite so big, and so on till there is only one eminently respectable pike left.

That is free competition, brought down to its simplest terms. Competition, in the very nature of things, devours itself; running its normal course it produces monopoly. The freer and more vigorous the competition, the sooner does monopoly ensue.

Look at the world of business. Each competitor is trying to reduce his expenses, to get trade away from the others, in every way to extend his business. They cannot all succeed, fighting each other. The success of some means the failure of others.

In this strife the competitor with the largest capital will have the advantage. He can introduce the best machinery; he can buy his materials in larger quantities, thus getting them cheaper; he can employ more workers and so get a larger product from each through division of labor and systematization of work; he can fill orders more promptly; he can take better advantage of fluctuations in the market; he can advertise more widely and so secure more trade.

The advantage so gained is cumulative. Larger capital gives larger profits; larger profits, in time, make possible a further increase of capital. As one by one the weakest competitors go down, the stronger ones match up their trade and so grow stronger still.

All this, be it observed, is "legitimate." It is all according to the rules of the game. It is of the very essence of the profit system.

For further advantage some of the lesser competitors may choose to cease competing, to unite their capital in a partnership, then in a stock company, then in larger and larger companies. Nor is it only the stronger competitors who do this; for self-protection the weaker ones are forced to do the same thing. The man who obstinately holds out against the tendency, who insists on running his business independently on the small scale which alone he can afford, is doomed to fail. A conservative economist has formulated the rule: "Where combination is possible, competition becomes impossible."

This, too, is "legitimate." To deny the legitimacy of the consolidation of individual capitals where such consolidation tends to economy of production would be to decree that the world should go back, not to the condition of twenty or fifty years ago, but to the condition of five centuries ago or thereabouts. We need not say more in order to show that through the "legitimate" methods of competition alone, in every country where competition is in any degree free and industry is developing, there is an irresistible tendency to the progressive elimination of the smaller competitors and the consolidation of

THE PREJUDICED PIG.

John H. Egan, the English Socialist, in a personal letter tells the following story:

"The other day I was in a farm yard where three men were trying to persuade a pig to leave a filthy, miserable sty, with no food in the trough, and go into another containing nice clean straw, dry and warm, with a fresh supply of food. After a long period of unsuccessful pushing and bawling, and after it had broken away and headed back into its dirty old quarters, they had to leave it bodily and it was carried struggling, shrieking and protesting, from misery to luxury. It had to be forced into better circumstances. I thought there was a lot of human nature in that swine—a lot of working-class human nature at any rate."

How like that blind pig is the workman with the capitalistic mind who prefers the poverty and misery of present conditions to the peace and plenty that lies ahead under Socialism, as soon as the workers will it!

—If you have an extra copy of The Worker please pass it on to a neighbor or acquaintance with the request that he give it a candid reading.

—One flag that will not float under Socialism—the red flag of the autocrat.—Coming Nation.

—You have a Catholic friend who thinks that to become a Socialist would imperil his soul's salvation? Give him a copy of McGreevy's "Catholic Capitalist" or "The City of Angels." You can get either from the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York, for 10 cents.

mile behind in Gloucester town
 are the fishing fleets put in;
 mile above the land dips down
 the woods and farms begin.
 Where the moors stretch free
 the high blue afternoon,
 the marching sun and talking sea,
 the racing winds that wheel and
 the flying bells of June.
 Over the ground is purple blue,
 is the quaker-maid,
 the wild geranium holds its dew
 in the boulder's shade.
 A red hangs the cup
 the huckleberry-boughs,
 the berry bells the grey moths sup,
 where the cheke-cherry lifts
 high up
 the bowls for their carouse.
 On the shelf of the sandy core
 the chess blossom late
 copse and cliff the swallows rove
 a calling to his mate.
 Ward the sea-gulls go,
 the land-birds all are here;
 the green-gold flash was a vireo.
 The yonder flame where the marsh
 flags grow
 a scarlet tangar.
 The earth is not the steadfast place
 landmen build upon;
 to deep to deep she waxes pace,
 while she comes is gone.
 Each my foot I feel
 a smooth bulk heave and dip;
 a velvet plunge and soft upreel
 savings and steady to her keel
 a gallant, gallant ship.
 The summer clouds she sets for sail,
 the sun is her moonbread light,
 the masts like a pinace fraill
 the phosphor wake churns
 bright.
 Ah, now looming clear,
 the face of the dangerous blue
 star fleets tack and wheel and
 on, but on does the old earth stem
 of her port she knew.
 Dear God! Does she know he
 port,
 though she goes so far about?
 blind astray, does she make her
 sport
 brown and chance it out?
 Watched when her captains passed,
 were better captains.
 In the cabin, before the mast,
 some were reckless and some
 aghest,
 some sat gorged at mess.
 Their battened hatch I leaved and
 caught
 sounds from the onisome hold,—
 moaning and sighing of souls dis-
 traught
 cry too sad to be told.
 I strove to go down and see:
 they said, "Thou art not of us!"
 I tried to those on the deck with me
 cryd, "Give help!" But they
 said, "Let be:
 ship sails faster thus."
 Over the ground is purple blue,
 is the quaker-maid,
 the elder-clump where the brook
 comes through
 the cranes in its shade.
 The out of the moulting street
 is its sweeter and its sin!
 has given to me this sweet,
 given my brother due to eat?
 when will his wage come in?
 The water low or blown in rasks,
 low and white and brown,
 is and boats from fishing banks
 are here Gloucester town.
 The cash to pure and spend,
 are wares to be embraced,
 hearts to borrow and hearts to lend,
 hearts to take and keep to the
 end,—
 thou, sails, make haste!
 Ah, vast! vast! outboard ship of soul,
 at harbor town for thee?
 at shapes, when thy arriving tolls,
 all crown the banks to see?
 all the happy shipmates then
 and slaying brotherly?
 Shall a haggard ruthless few
 up her over and bring her to,
 is the many broken sons of men
 poor down in the slavers' pen,
 nothing to say or do?
 —William Vaughn Moody.

HIGGINS.
 ford.
 —but he could DO the thing to be
 as. Be you, reader, never so great
 any other shall ever do more
 that. Jimmie Higgins had no
 as, but out of his poverty he ab-
 gave something, his all! he yod,
 nor, never so wealthy and likewise
 rous, you shall never give more
 that.
 Jimmie Higgins never had a front
 on the platform; he never knew
 onic of applause or the inspiration
 position; he never was seen in the
 ground of the picture. But he had
 red the platform and painted the
 as, through his hard, disagreeable
 thankless toil it had come to pass
 liberty was brewing and things
 doing.
 Jimmie Higgins. How shall we pay,
 reward this man? What gold,
 laurels shall be his?
 ere 's just one way, reader, that
 and can "make good" with Jim-
 Higgins and the likes of him. That
 is to be like him. Take a fresh
 and never let go. Think how
 his work will be he has no little to
 do. How little ours in proportion
 strength.
 Now some grand men and women
 the Socialist movement. But in
 self-sacrifice, in matchless fidel-
 ity, I shall never meet a
 er man than Jimmie Higgins.
 And many a branch has one of him,
 and may they have more of him.

LAW AND ORDER.
 the law, ah, keep it well—keep it
 year rulers do:
 not righteous even-though—when
 they break it, so can you;
 they read their pledges and bond,
 and you, too, their legal thongs;
 as they crush your chartered
 rights, tread you down your char-
 ted wrongs.
 —Fanny Parrall.

ROOM AT THE ECONOMIC TOP.
 ere is less room at the top than is
 arly supposed. They who are
 are few, but large.—Puck.

SOCIALIST PROGRESS IN OLD MASSACHUSETTS.

By State Secretary Dan A. White.

In endeavoring to analyze the Socialist movement in Massachusetts, it is essential that a clear view of the situation should be taken, and as far as it is possible, the Socialist should separate himself from his enthusiasm and consider, not his hopes and desires, but the facts as they present themselves across the political and industrial horizon.

The greatly increased vote in this state at the last election was as much a cause for alarm to the capitalist parties as it was for pleasure to the Socialists. Immediately the results of the election were known, the capitalist press evinced a condition of mental hysteria, which evidently obtained even to this day. During the campaign, the newspapers in general pursued a policy of silence as far as our efforts were concerned. In many places we held meetings on the same evening as the old parties, who brought into the places men of great reputation in state and national politics. Their meetings were advertised parades with brass bands were held prior to the meetings, and the people attended in large numbers. In many places the Socialist meetings were being held and attended by large numbers. Numerous statements could be cited where, after the managers made this great effort, comparatively few were in attendance to hear these so-called heavyweights of the old parties, while the Socialist rallies were large and enthusiastic.

The following morning the interested Socialist, after purchasing the capitalist papers, would look for a report of the Socialist meeting, only to find that it had been entirely ignored, while columns of space were given to the old party speakers. During all this time, the only admission or anything in the nature of an admission that the political atmosphere was chilly, as far as the old parties were concerned, was the repeated utterance that the people were no longer interested in attending political rallies, that the time for this form of campaign had gone by. Now all this was in line with the newspapers' policy of ignoring the trend towards Socialist thought, and striving to hide from the people the evidence of this great and growing sentiment.

When, after election, they saw that their policy of silence had failed, they immediately began to find excuses for the increased vote for Socialism, and each paper found a different cause. The Boston Herald claimed that the reason was, that the people desired to rebuke the Republican party for persisting in nominating for Governor the man who had served as Lieutenant Governor, and that this accounted for the increased vote for our gubernatorial candidates, John C. Chase. They then discovered that John Quincy Adams, our candidate for Lieutenant Governor, had received six thousand more votes than Chase, they recognized that they had one more guess. Then they laid back on the coal situation, and said that "when that situation becomes normal we would need a microscope to find the Socialist vote."

In the city elections, which came about a month after the state election, our share of the total vote was 14 per cent, while in the state election it had been a little over 9 per cent. It was true that the coal famine was still oppressing the people, and so the old-party press still continued to tender that as an excuse for the increase in our vote. They maintained until the situation became normal. There is really no cause for alarm to the capitalist interests.

Then we came down to the month of March. We were blessed with splendid mild weather and the prices of coal had been battered down to very near the normal level. Then came the town elections. It was the fairest test of the permanency of our increased vote that could be had. In these town elections, in very many instances, particularly in the city, the citizens of the town became neighbors; much of the rancor attending political affairs is buried, and men view each other in the individual light of neighbors. If our vote was to decrease, it was certainly in these elections that the decrease would come. But when the votes were counted they showed an increase in the towns, as compared with the November election, even more striking than that which had been registered in the city.

If the trend towards Socialism should continue month by month in the same ratio that it has from November until March, we would carry this state for the Socialist Party in next fall's state election. Now the Socialists do not exactly anticipate being able to do this. But we are confident that we will show a great increase in the vote over that cast at the last state election, and we base our belief upon a number of conditions throughout the state. We are better organized than we were last year, and we are steadily continuing in the betterment of that organization, and every member added to the roster of clubs immediately becomes a campaigner for Socialism.

There are those who feel some alarm at the apparent intention of the Republican National Committee to concentrate its best efforts in this state to oppose the work of Socialists. But the closest observers of the situation believe that by so doing the Republican leaders will be adding to our work. Every attack that they make upon Socialism gives a better opportunity for the Socialists to be heard. The National Economic League has among its members Socialists from all over this state who are receiving the League's literature and promptly and patiently explaining the fallacy of the wrongs from their standpoint; so that in their endeavors to tear down the directors of this League are actually giving us the material with which to build up.

The newspapers in their present attitude of attack are keeping the issue before the people. It is noticeable that they have abandoned their former practice of charging us with being Anarchists, and now their cry is "Anarchy and free-love." They will be as successful in combating Socialism with these two phrases for weapons as they were with Anarchism. Their pretended friendship for the trade union is too

SOCIALIST PARTY IN OHIO.

By State Secretary W. S. Critchlow.

The Socialist Party movement in Ohio has never been in better condition than at present. Never has there been more interest shown, more literature distributed, more speakers at banquets, more organization work done, or more general activity shown than at the present time.

Two years ago we had but sixteen local organizations, and several of these were in bad standing, not having paid dues for some time. The work has been constantly pushed, even under the most adverse circumstances, until to-day there are forty-five local and thirty-three branches in good standing, with a membership of over 1,000.

The organization has grown from a mere working with a very lax business method to a recognized party with a cohesive organization working in harmony upon a most efficient and systematic plan. A permanent state headquarters is maintained with a secretary who devotes his time to the duties imposed upon him. The work at headquarters has increased to such an extent that an assistant will soon be a necessity and already the correspondence amounts to over one thousand letters each month in addition to the many postal and packages that are daily sent out. Thousands of pieces of literature are handled weekly and forwarded to the various parts of the state, either upon orders from organized points or sent into unorganized territory with a view to getting new local started.

One of the obstacles that we have had to contend with is the existence of the R. I. P. Although they amount to very little here, yet they try to get our votes by reason of being in the fall of 1902 they lost over 1,100 votes in the large cities and gained 1,000 in the farming districts, leaving them a net loss of eleven votes for the head of the ticket as compared with the year 1901. They had made no propaganda whatever outside of three or four places, and for the Socialist Party, but by mistake were cast for the R. I. P. In the places where they had held some meetings and put out literature, their vote actually decreased. We have, however, devoted but little attention to them, as we can see the trend of events and it will be but a short time until they will be completely out of existence. This is doubly proven by the fact that they have been found with as many false petitions and named a banker. "Golden Rule" Jones had his nomination petition prepared, but did not file them until after the results of the Republican primaries were known and showed the administration to be in control. Their nominee was a man whose connections caused some of the Republicans to vote for Jones on Election Day, not that they believed in what Jones was proposing, but as a rebuke to the machine. In their own party, Jones had the solid support of the saloons and the sporting fraternity, and all knew what that means in a city like this. In filing his nomination petition a committee was named to fill vacancies on the "ticket," a move to prevent any other name appearing in the column allotted to the "non-partisan" candidate on the official ballot, for he will have no one on the ticket with him—which is an absurdity, considering that the executive without legislative backing is powerless, except to advertise himself.

Jones' appointees on the city Board of Elections (Democratic), at the solicitation of the Jones managers, disregarded the rule and practice and placed Jones' name in the column at the extreme right of the official ballot in column for one name, where the "non-partisan" candidate and 3,000 ballots were cast for Jones and one other candidate. The result was: Jones, 10,290; Republican, 7,501; Democrat, 4,291; Socialist, 439. The other candidates on the Socialist city ticket received from 1,297 to 1,599 votes. The Republican city ticket, except Mayor, was elected by pluralities ranging from 1,040 to 4,394. These figures show a striking example of how wrong.

The "Appeal Army" in Toledo were out for Jones, and published a campaign paper from which we extract the following:

"Mayor Jones stands for direct legislation. He is a Jeffersonian Democrat, a Lincoln Republican, a Socialist to the core, and an all around Christian gentleman—without a party."

The day before election several thousand copies of Hearst's Chicago "American" were distributed in this city with a full-page illustrated write-up of Jones—a significant incident.

On Sunday, March 23, before the Business Men's Club, at the First Congregational Church, Jones declared point blank that he was not a Socialist, but his sentimental followers insist that he is.

Jones hired the halls and tent, furnished his Golden Rule Band, a quartet of colored singers, and the literature. "He's a good fellow," but he would not be "in it" without his money. His meetings were a cross between a revival meeting and a vaudeville show, made up of songs and sentimental stunts. The day following election he paraded the streets singing songs, followed by his band and some fifty people, part of whom carried banners, a sort of "St. Perkins" parade.

In 1900 Jones received 10,773 votes for Mayor. In 1901 he received 12,461, and in 1902 he had 10,350 votes—which indicates about when the era of "brotherly love" may be expected to arrive. It required the co-ordinating imagination of an imported word-painter to picture this as a world movement.

Local Toledo has carried on a quiet educational campaign, knowing that the social problems will never be solved by lavish philanthropy or wealth created by others, any more than by sentimental appeals and imagination. The Socialist candidate, received votes in nearly every precinct in the city, and this vote backed by class-conscious argument and the logic of events will create a Socialist movement in this city that can be depended on at all times. We know that more voters are being won. We are not as content to make a showing as to

THE ATTACK ON THE TRADE UNIONS.

By Max S. Hayes.

During the last couple of years the trade unions of this country have experienced such wonderful growth and so increased their power and influence that it is quite certain that they are now the object of assault by the white capitalist class.

In every industrial center in the land the organized workers have wrested concessions from the enemy in the shape of higher wages, reduced working time and improved conditions in the shop and factory.

The advantages gained by labor and the fear that the workers will struggle for still more has made the capitalist class apprehensive, and well-planned moves are being made to check the growth and destroy the power of the proletarian army. In fact, the hostile and hostile in the camp of capital resembles a panic. Organizers are rushing hither and thither and forming local Civic Federations to arbitrate and compromise the situation that arises between the two hostile classes, so-called Economic Leagues are sending out tons of literature to "educate the work-people" and show the impracticability of Socialism and the unreasonableness of unions; more organizers are hurriedly going from city to city to combine the capitalists into Manufacturers' Associations; the heavy-weight editors are writing miles of stuff meant to "mold public opinion" against unions, strikes and boycotts; the sudden efforts of the "non-union" and the "independent" workmen and strike breakers and scabs; the starting up of spying agencies and information bureaus that employ a regiment of conscienceless minions to sneak into unions and betray their business—all these daily developments are signs of the times that point out the fact that the class struggle is becoming more international and so plain that the most obtuse mind can grasp its significance.

The trade unionists in every industrial center have had opportunities to learn the damage that has been caused by the reckless hurrying of injunctions, on the part of the capitalist courts, at a critical point in a strike or boycott. But if the attacks of the judiciary have created havoc with their injunctions, it was only a mild skirmish compared to the onslaughts that are coming. For years or two the disposition of capitalism has been to make every labor organization that is not incorporated so that they might be legal institutions and have a standing in court. The unions refused to be embroiled. They felt that they would be dragged into court and their funds confiscated in damage suits, which would mean their complete undoing for obvious reasons. But now the profit pirates are inaugurating a new policy.

We are not discouraged; on the contrary, we are proud of our 600 uncompromising votes, and more determined than ever.

A local Sunday paper of April 12 contained copies of congratulatory messages to Mayor Jones; among them we note the following: "Hilarious congratulations. N. Q. Nelson and Edith Wilson."

General Chaffee, a Methodist, addressed by saying: "I am an exploiter, and I believe that if we are to get any good out of the Philippine Islands we must explore and exploit them." The general is refreshingly candid. It is now in order for the department to condemn him and put a bullet on his lips. As long as a soldier follows his usual custom of telling a string of lies he is all right. But when he makes the mistake of giving away the real intentions of his capitalist masters he must be called down. John M. Work in Iowa Socialist.

—For information in regard to the Socialist Party in Massachusetts address W. S. Critchlow, State Secretary, 910 Washington Street, Boston.

—For information about the Socialist movement in Pennsylvania address W. S. Critchlow, State Secretary, 910 Washington Street, Boston.

—Now when we are reading so much in the daily press about railway service, rates, wages, and profits, is a good time to circulate Hamford's "Railroading in the United States," one of the best Socialist pamphlets ever written. Price, postpaid, 5 cents a copy; ten or more at 25 cents each. Socialist Literature Company, 134 William Street, New York.

—The capitalist's idea of harmony is absolute obedience on the part of the laborers to the demands and commands of the capitalists—Coming Nation.

PARTY DIRECTORY.

Following is a directory of the national and state and territorial organizations of the Socialist Party known in New York as the Social Union, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. Every reader of The Worker who is not already a member of the party is earnestly urged to join at once. The party officers named will gladly send you a copy of the party constitution and a list of the places of meeting or give other information desired by those wishing to join the party.

NATIONAL OFFICERS: William D. Matthews, Secretary, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Treasurer, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Executive Committee, 125 West 12th Street, New York City.

STATE SECRETARIES: William D. Matthews, Secretary, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Treasurer, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Executive Committee, 125 West 12th Street, New York City.

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS: William D. Matthews, Secretary, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Treasurer, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Executive Committee, 125 West 12th Street, New York City.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: William D. Matthews, Secretary, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Treasurer, 125 West 12th Street, New York City. William D. Matthews, Executive Committee, 125 West 12th Street, New York City.

LOUIS D. BEHREN, Manufacturer of UNION-MADE HAVANA CIGARS, 189 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK. Opposite the office of The Worker.

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SOCIALISM AND OUR NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

The Employers' Argument—How Far It Is True—What Prosperity Is Worth to the Worker—The Way Out.

The one argument against Socialism worthy of serious consideration at the present day is that which the National Economic League is spending so much effort to put before the workers—namely, that the Socialist movement threatens our national prosperity.

The argument is worthy of attention, not because it is a valid one, but because, to the mind trained to look at all questions from the capitalist standpoint it is likely to seem so.

Noting first that the National Economic League and the National Association of Manufacturers are quite right in using this argument against the Socialist and the trade-union movements alike, since it is equally strong or equally weak against both, let us begin by stating the argument as a really candid capitalist would, in as plain words as we can:

The Employers' Argument.

This, then, is what the capitalist says to the workman to dissuade him from supporting the Socialist movement or the trade unions:

"You and I, as wage-workers and capitalists are mutually dependent.

"In the present stage of social development it is impracticable to carry on any industry without the use of modern means of production—machines, complex, and costly machinery, involving division of labor and the employment of large numbers of workers under common supervision.

"I own these means of production. But I am not able to operate them myself. I need your labor-power. Therefore I am dependent upon you.

"You cannot use your labor-power, on the other hand, without having access to these means of production which I own. Therefore you are dependent upon me.

"I allow you to work with these means of production in order that I may sell the goods you make at a profit to myself. Unless I can get a profit, there is no reason why I should let you work.

"Now I, the American capitalist, in selling the goods which you make for me in the world market, must compete with the goods which British, German, Japanese and other workmen make for British, German, Japanese or other capitalists to sell at a profit.

"If I can sell cheaper than those other capitalists and yet make a profit, I will get orders and let you work and pay your wages. If the others can sell cheaper, I get no orders and will close my works and you will get no work.

"In order to be allowed to work, therefore, it is your interest to work at such terms as will, after allowing me what I consider a satisfactory profit, enable me to sell my goods cheaper than other capitalists can.

"The trade unions, by their strikes and boycotts and labor agitation, seek to compel me to pay you higher wages and reduce your hours of labor. The Socialists advocate legislation which would compel me to employ men instead of women and little children, to spend more money in making work-shops beautiful and guarding dangerous machinery, and in other ways to reduce my share and increase your share of my product.

"Even though you do not succeed in this, or even before you succeed, your agitation frightens me. It decreases my confidence. It threatens my profits. It hampers me in my business. And in proportion as you succeed, you increase the cost of production and so compel me, in order to get my satisfactory profit, to raise my selling price.

"But if I raise my selling price, the British and German and Japanese are likely to undersell me—and there is an end of our national prosperity.

"National prosperity, you see, depends on my selling cheap. My selling cheap depends upon your working cheap, long hours, for low wages, your wives and children doing such work as they can for still lower wages, and my being enabled to save expense by neglecting sanitation and running dangerous machinery at high speed. When you resist these things, your action menaces and may destroy that national prosperity which you and I have been enjoying so much."

How Far It Is Sound.

This is the employer's argument. On the whole, it is unanswerable, IF YOU ACCEPT THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AS RIGHT AND NECESSARY—that is, if you agree with him in thinking that the means of production must be held as private property and operated by one class for the sake of producing profits for the other class.

It cannot be denied that an increase of real wages—whether through the raising of wage-rates, the reduction of hours, the moderation of speed, the elimination of child and female labor, or in whatever way gained—an increase of real wages increases the cost of production and so must involve either an increase of prices or a reduction of profits.

If the capitalist has a right to profit at all, then he has a right to judge for himself what rate of profit is sufficient to justify him in employing the workman. If he has a right to profit at all, then he certainly has a right to and must be expected to shut down his works when he cannot get a satisfactory profit.

The argument which the non-Socialist trade-unionists use to justify strikes is that the workmen have a right to cease working when they will, singly or unitedly. The capitalists can turn the same argument against him, claiming an equal right to suspend business when they will, singly or unitedly.

But the Socialist does not admit the rightness or necessity of profit at all. On that ground, and on that ground only, the capitalist argument can be met.

What Is Prosperity Worth?

First, let us ask, What is prosperity worth to the workman?

We are now living in a period of undoubted prosperity. As has been repeatedly shown in *The Worker* by the citation of figures from government reports and from capitalist statisticians, the following facts characterize this period, FROM THE WORKINGMEN'S SIDE, as compared with that of comparative depression which preceded it:

1. Average money wages are slightly lower now than formerly.

2. The cost of the workman's living is considerably higher now than before.

3. A larger proportion of workmen are killed or disabled at their work now than ever before.

4. Workmen have to toil harder and are worn out at an earlier age now than ever before.

5. A larger proportion of women and children are working for wages (destroying home life and lowering the future standard of health and intelligence) now than ever before.

That is prosperity from the workman's side.

Profits are enormously larger than ever before—that is the capitalist's side. It is very reasonable that the capitalist should be interested in maintaining it.

But from your point of view, workman, do you really think it is such a precious thing that you should submit to all its exactions rather than "menace" it? By the way you are striking and by the number of you that are studying Socialism, you answer, No.

The Capitalist Dilemma.

Observe the two horns of the dilemma between which the capitalist finds himself:

Either prosperity—which for you means excessive toil, dangerous toil, destruction of home life, and all for a remuneration kept down by the force of competition and always tending to the bare cost of living.

Or "hard times"—and you know what that terrible phrase means.

The capitalist expects you forever to choose between these alternatives and expects that you will choose the former, which means ever more and more profit and power for him.

But is it necessary for you to continue choosing between these two? We Socialists say it is not. We suggest a third choice.

Capital and Capitalist.

We admit that the workman is dependent upon the capitalist for permission to work—but not rightly or necessarily nor eternally so—only until they learn to remove the cause of their dependence.

The capitalist says: "Without me it would be impossible to carry on industry and the workers would starve." He means: "Without the machinery and other means of production that I own it would be impossible to carry on industry and the workers would starve."

Note that difference. It is the essential point of the Socialist reply to the capitalist argument. Miners cannot work without a mine, nor trainmen without a railroad, nor steel workers without steel mills. But miners could dig coal and iron and railroad men could transport it and steel workers manufacture it even if Baer and Morgan and Carnegie were dead.

The capitalist does not enable you to work. He merely permits you to work, when it is profitable for him—that is, when he is extracting his private profit from you.

Capital—what word here to mean all the instruments of production—is necessary. Capitalists are unnecessary and pernicious.

It is because we have capitalists—because we allow certain persons the legal ownership and control of the things with which we work—that we have to make that hard choice—either stand idle and hungry, or work too hard and yet live in poverty.

The Socialist Position.

Let us, then, get rid of the capitalist. The workers have collectively created the means of production. They collectively operate them. They collectively own them. Let them collectively own and control what they have made and use and need. Then they will work without a mine, nor trainmen without a railroad, nor steel workers without steel mills.

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The Capitalist Dilemma.

Observe the two horns of the dilemma between which the capitalist finds himself:

Either prosperity—which for you means excessive toil, dangerous toil, destruction of home life, and all for a remuneration kept down by the force of competition and always tending to the bare cost of living.

Or "hard times"—and you know what that terrible phrase means.

The capitalist expects you forever to choose between these alternatives and expects that you will choose the former, which means ever more and more profit and power for him.

But is it necessary for you to continue choosing between these two? We Socialists say it is not. We suggest a third choice.

Capital and Capitalist.

We admit that the workman is dependent upon the capitalist for permission to work—but not rightly or necessarily nor eternally so—only until they learn to remove the cause of their dependence.

The capitalist says: "Without me it would be impossible to carry on industry and the workers would starve." He means: "Without the machinery and other means of production that I own it would be impossible to carry on industry and the workers would starve."

Note that difference. It is the essential point of the Socialist reply to the capitalist argument. Miners cannot work without a mine, nor trainmen without a railroad, nor steel workers without steel mills. But miners could dig coal and iron and railroad men could transport it and steel workers manufacture it even if Baer and Morgan and Carnegie were dead.

The capitalist does not enable you to work. He merely permits you to work, when it is profitable for him—that is, when he is extracting his private profit from you.

Capital—what word here to mean all the instruments of production—is necessary. Capitalists are unnecessary and pernicious.

It is because we have capitalists—because we allow certain persons the legal ownership and control of the things with which we work—that we have to make that hard choice—either stand idle and hungry, or work too hard and yet live in poverty.

How Far It Is Sound.

This is the employer's argument. On the whole, it is unanswerable, IF YOU ACCEPT THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AS RIGHT AND NECESSARY—that is, if you agree with him in thinking that the means of production must be held as private property and operated by one class for the sake of producing profits for the other class.

It cannot be denied that an increase of real wages—whether through the raising of wage-rates, the reduction of hours, the moderation of speed, the elimination of child and female labor, or in whatever way gained—an increase of real wages increases the cost of production and so must involve either an increase of prices or a reduction of profits.

If the capitalist has a right to profit at all, then he has a right to judge for himself what rate of profit is sufficient to justify him in employing the workman. If he has a right to profit at all, then he certainly has a right to and must be expected to shut down his works when he cannot get a satisfactory profit.

The argument which the non-Socialist trade-unionists use to justify strikes is that the workmen have a right to cease working when they will, singly or unitedly. The capitalists can turn the same argument against him, claiming an equal right to suspend business when they will, singly or unitedly.

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not a fault that, while the utopian communists, the Knights of Labor, and the Bellamy clubs are mentioned (pp. 24, 25) among the forces that "prepared a road for a truly revolutionary socialist movement when the time should be ripe," there is not a word from which the otherwise uninformed reader would suspect that there existed in this country a revolutionary and proletarian socialist political party before 1900—or, at any rate, before 1904?

So much—and perhaps already too much—of fault-finding. We welcome the pamphlet because we hope that it is a fortunate of a much wanted book and, for itself, because it gives a thought-provoking outline of a subject heretofore almost utterly neglected. To utterly superficial and consequently shallow in its results is the established treatment of American history that probably almost every college graduate out of a hundred reading "Class Struggles in America" would be surprised not to say abhorred at being told that Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton were land speculators, puzzled by the suggestion that rum and molasses had nothing to do with Lexington and Bunker Hill, and even amazed to learn that Jefferson and Phillips were successful speculators. Because these and such as these extremely important facts are so little known, the pamphlet that calls attention to them is sure to do much good.

The pamphlet is neatly printed and bound and should sell rapidly at 10 cents a copy.

The third edition of "Socialist Politics and Labor Politics" is now ready. This little book has met with very warm favor ever since its publication and seems to have filled a real need in our propaganda literature. It is the general verdict of those who have seen the new edition that it is greatly improved. The new edition is so improved in administrative matter included in the first two editions which was of temporary nature than of permanent application has been eliminated; other passages have been rewritten and condensed; and the author has thus been enabled to expound some passages, bringing out more clearly some points too lightly touched on in earlier editions, and yet so skilfully to shorten the body of the pamphlet. Three pamphlets, which have been added in the third edition—dealing with the relations of the party to the unions, the growth of the Socialist movement in the United States, and the recent organized attack on trade unions—add much. It is believed, to the value of the pamphlet, in order to enable the comrades to make the freest use of "Socialist Politics and Labor Politics" in propaganda, the price has been fixed at the lowest possible figures—3 cents a copy, ten copies for 20 cents, fifty copies for \$5 cents, or \$150 a hundred, postpaid. Order of the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

Requests have reached this office for the republication in pamphlet form of an article on "Ten Years of Capitalism," in *The Worker* of May 17 and on "Socialism and National Prosperity" in last week's issue. Those two articles will probably be issued in pamphlet form, as will, in June, a number of the Socialist Library, to be sold at 2 cents a copy.

"What does the cry for a non-partisan or non-political judiciary mean? It means that the Socialists might want when they get there is to a fundamental difference between the republicans and Democratic branches of the capitalist party: that the pretended rift between them is only a struggle for the offices and the patronage; that both have been tested and found to be thoroughly reliable servants of the non-producing class; and that the so-called business men, that the Socialists are to take over from those whose business it is to produce, are well satisfied with judges drawn from either branch. They know their men. When they say the rift is not a political office they express a wish rather than a fact. They tell the workers to believe that the courts are not used for political purposes and that capitalism is as fairly established on everlasting rock as the sun in the sky. Their cry is, in effect, is abandoned, and that they make a distinction between Republican and Democratic judges, so the working men should make no distinction between capitalist and Socialist judges." These are the opening words of the article on "Workingmen as Judges," by Marcus Hitch, which occupies first place in the May number of the *Library*. The article is well worth reading. "Counter-revolutionary Teachers," by Jack London, is a brief comparative review of Ghent's "Revolutions of the Future" and Brooks' "Social Current." He concludes with this antithesis: "In brief summary of these two notable books, it may be said that Mr. Ghent is alarmed because he does not fairly say it is the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie are the enemies of the workingmen; that he is permitting the capitalists to form the new society in their liking; and that Mr. Brooks is alarmed and he fairly says so; at a social unrest which threatens the so-called individualism into which he would like to see society evolve. Mr. Ghent rebukes the capitalist class rising to dominate the state and the working class; Mr. Brooks rebukes the bourgeoisie, claiming to dominate the state and the capitalist classes. One stresses the paternalism of a class; the other the paternalism of the mass."

—Alexander Kent of Washington writes on "Causes of Social Progress" that Austin Lewis replies to Professor Williams on the economic interpretation of history.

INCENTIVE.

Accuse any great inventor, author, artist, musician, or theologian of attaining the height of his ambition through his love of the almighty dollar—or, in other words, that the accumulation of money was his sole incentive to success and he will emphatically deny it. According to the teaching of the antagonists of socialism men will fall into a sort of cosmic state or equilibrium and their ambitions will lapse into innocuous desuetude. Under Socialism, simply because they will have nothing to handicap them in pursuit of their callings.—Adam F. Irving, in A. L. U. Journal.

WORK. STRICTLY EIGHT HOURS WORK. L. A. LAUNDRY, 774 Second Ave.

THE MARTYRS OF THE TUNNEL



PARTY NOTES.

A bulletin from national headquarters states: "Floods and washouts in this section have crippled the mail service for the past week, and those falling to hear from their correspondents to the national office might as well consider their letters lost and write again. The lecture work of Comrade Chase has been seriously retarded by the non-delivery of mail as a result of the floods."

The work of party agitation and organization is being increased in every state. Vermont, Alabama, and Arkansas have recently perfected state organizations and started out with bright prospects. Within the week the national office has received most encouraging reports from Colorado, Illinois, Kentucky, Minnesota, and Missouri.

The poem read at the MacCartney memorial meeting in Boston and attributed to Fred Irish of Portland, Me., was written by M. A. Floyd, another Portland comrade. Comrade Irish asks us to correct the misstatement.

The Socialist Club of Hyde Park, Mass., is holding open-air meetings every Saturday and later may hold two a week, distributing Socialist papers and literature in large quantities, and going through the voting list planning a house to house campaign to be commenced at once.

There will be a Socialist camp on Cape Cod this summer at Sandwich, Mass., August 10 to 24. The camp will be in a pine forest, one-half mile from railroad depot, and one mile from beach which is in sight and easy to reach, and on which are all the sports and recreations of the season. Excellent fishing, lake and sea. Expense of the round trip from New York is \$7, from Boston \$2.50, and board with room will cost \$1 per day, furnished room or tent \$3 per week. Sandwich has no hotels and comrades wishing to leave their vacation at this Socialist camp should therefore communicate at once with the manager, M. L. Kerr, Sandwich, Mass.

The Tenth Ward Branch of Jersey City, N. J., will hold a street meeting at Five Corners on Wednesday evening, June 17. Comrade George H. Gobel will speak.

The purpose for which the Socialist Club of Bloomfield, N. J., is trying to raise a fund of \$400 is to purchase the building which they now hold on a lease and use as headquarters. Under the terms of the lease the owner has agreed to transfer the entire property to the club on the payment of \$100. The club considers that the property is well worth that amount, and the ownership of the building would free the comrades from the persecution they have endured in the past, when the town officers have attempted to compel the owner to evict them on account of their being Socialists. Money should be sent promptly to Albert Schmidt, 22 Myrtle street, Bloomfield, N. J.

At the last meeting of the Luzerne, Pa., County Committee, fifteen members were present, representing Wilkes-Barre, Pittston, Nanticoke, Edinboro, Luzerne, and Hanover Township. Comrade John Bryson, of Nanticoke, was elected secretary. Punched cards for the collection of party funds were distributed to all the members. Report of chairman was very encouraging; treasurer's report showed a balance on hand of \$13.93. Wilkes-Barre was selected as the place of holding county convention on July 4 and the Executive Committee was given full powers to make arrangements for same. Among the latest acquisitions to the movement we may count Professor Schumann, principal of the Fort Fort High School. Comrade Schumann has been studying the subject for some time, and is now an avowed Socialist. When he returns from his vacation trip in the West he will open a class for the study of Socialism.

State Organizer Lamb of Michigan says, in reference to his article in "The Worker" of last week: "I wrote that 'Our soap-box' campaign is still in its experimental stage.' Am inclined to take that back now. The ready and capable manner in which our 'soap-boxers' are doing the advance work for our speakers and the way they are handling speakers and supporting them make me think it nearly time to say that our campaign is a success."

Through the courtesy of State Organizer Lamb, "The Worker" has been furnished with the addresses of several hundred comrades in Michigan who are in charge of the "soap-box" campaign. One or more copies of this and other issues of "The Worker" will be sent to each of these comrades, who are requested to read them and pass them on to friends and neighbors, and naturally we shall be gratified if they take it into their hands to hustle in a few new subscriptions.

Geo. R. Kirkpatrick and Howard H. Caldwell are now speaking in Ohio with success on the opening nights. They will be kept at the work continuously and hope to be able to reach every organized point in the state and many others where the untapped comrades will make the arrangements. Comrades, get in touch with the state secretary at once, and have the advance work for our speakers and the way they are handling speakers and supporting them make me think it nearly time to say that our campaign is a success."

Secretary Lipscomb of Missouri has issued a special letter to every local in the state urging the comrades to prepare for the campaign of 1934. Joe A. Hunker, one of the comrades from Joplin, will begin the work of organizing, and the workers will be increased until the entire state has been reached.

Colorado has adopted a modification of the Michigan and Ohio plans. Ida Crouch Haslett and Chas. Oliver Jones

were elected state organizers and a systematic effort will be made to get the working class into the party in every part of the state.

Secretary Graham of Local Livingstone, Mont., writes to the National Secretary: "Comrade Mable of Chicago has been coming out for not sending donations to the organizing fund. We will try to send some more at our next meeting."

Comrade Robert of Seattle, Wash., who is a bricklayer, is to debate Socialism with W. M. Kellogg, lawyer, M. L. Ph. D. of Matthey, Wash., who is a member of the anti-Socialist National Economic League and endorsed by that organization.

Comrade H. King, Jr., requests us to say that he is a member of Local San Mateo County of the Socialist Party. On the other hand, the Organizer and Secretary of Local San Francisco, to which King formerly belonged, writes us that he is not a member of the party, having resigned rather than face charges of violating his pledge with the Socialist Party and conduct detrimental to the Socialist movement.

The explanation of this contradiction is that San Mateo County is a new organization, formed partly if not wholly of former members of Local San Francisco, who found that organization an unsatisfactory home for them after it abandoned the fusion experiment. On protest of San Francisco against its recognition the question of the standing of Local San Mateo County is now before the state organization and will soon be decided.

Local New Haven, Conn., will hold a social and entertainment at Aurora Hall, 125 Union street, Tuesday evening, June 16, to celebrate the German parliamentary elections. Arrangements have been made to receive the returns of the elections in Germany at the hall during the evening. All members and friends of the party in New Haven are cordially invited to attend, and an enjoyable evening is promised. Admission will be free.

Comrade Friedman addressed an open-air meeting in front of the City Hall at New Rochelle last Friday evening. The audience was composed mainly of men in the building trades who have been on strike for the last eight weeks. Comrade Friedman stated: "We are in fine form and for two hours preached to them pure, undiluted Socialist doctrine with electric hammer."

His criticism of the union men who would not have his employer for president in his union and yet would have him for mayor or alderman provoked the wildest enthusiasm. He called to their attention that two of their aldermen were now scrubbing and also that their \$1,500 a year Commissioner of Streets, who is also a building contractor and member of the Building Trades Employers' Association (which is now fighting them) has discharged every laborer who succeeded in getting a job on public work when he found out that they were strikers of the building trades, thus showing the community of interests between the government and employers as against the workers. This lesson, it is safe to presume, will not soon be forgotten."

E. P. Jennings, Jr., whom comrades of New York City will remember as an indefatigable worker, has settled in Olean, N. Y., and has straightway begun to agitate there for the Socialist Democratic Party, distributing many copies of "The Worker" and making arrangements for the holding of open-air meetings.

This Sunday Comrades Heleker and Holmes of Peekskill will go to Croton-on-Hudson to break the ground for Socialist agitation by distributing leaflets and getting names to send the party papers for a three months' trial.

At the last meeting of Local Peckskill, N. Y., the delegates to the County Committee were instructed to notify the representative of Westchester County on the State Committee that he should make an effort to get the headquarters of the State Committee removed from New York to a more centrally located city.

The General Committee of Local New York meets in the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street, Saturday evening, June 13.

The 1st, 3d, and 5th A. D. meet the last Wednesday evening of each month at 150 Spring street.

Open-air meetings will be held on the West Side as follows: Thursday, June 11, N. W. corner Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, with Comrades Wood and Atkinson as speakers; Saturday, June 13, N. W. corner Hudson and Canal, Wood and Sebring; Tuesday, June 16, N. W. corner Twenty-second street and Seventh avenue, Cooney and Wood; Wednesday, June 17, N. E. corner Bleeker and Christopher, Paulsitch and Wood; Thursday, June 18, N. W. corner Twenty-second street and Tenth avenue, Wood and Abraham; Friday, June 19, N. W. corner Fifth street and Eighth avenue, Beckins and Paulsitch.

The East Side districts of the Socialist Democratic Party opened the campaign of 1933 with great enthusiasm last week. The New York Socialist Literary Society held three good outdoor meetings. Arrangements have been made for other meetings as follows: Friday evening, June 12, on Rutgers Square, with Bernstein, Feigenbaum, Boudin, and Harris as speakers; Saturday, June 13, at Clinton and Madison streets, with Lane, Rosen, and Miles; Tuesday, June 16, at East Broadway and Montgomery street, with Dobson, Jacobson, and Harris; Friday, June 19, on West Avenue, with Stein, Miles, Lane, and Bernstein; Saturday, June 20, at Greenway and Madison streets, with Karikowicz, Deloswitch, Babits, and Davidson.

Branch 1, 7th A. D. of Brooklyn held an unusually successful open-air meeting, the first of the summer series, last Saturday at the corner of Beth avenue and Bay Nineteenth street. The comrades came out full of enthusiasm and helplessness carrying literature that was diligently and carefully distributed among the crowd, which, during

the two hours talking, varied from one to two hundred listening with much attention and little opposition. Comrade Paulsitch delivered a beautiful speech and everybody was well pleased.

The picnic of the Brooklyn Socialist Club, which will be held on June 21, at Atlantic Park, Ralph avenue near 84th St., will undoubtedly be one of the largest gatherings ever assembled for pleasure in that borough. The committee has invited many of the labor organizations and singing societies, and the acceptance has been such that the committee has been at its wit's end to deliver the tickets which have been called for. A souvenir program for the picnic is being issued, and a large number of advertisements already obtained. Organizations which have accepted the invitation which was extended by the club should direct their secretaries to send for admission tickets, stating the number they desire.

The comrades of Stapleton, Staten Island, will celebrate the expected Socialist victories in the German elections on Tuesday, June 16, at the Labor Lyceum. The primaries to elect delegates to the city convention will be held on Friday, June 19, at the Labor Lyceum, and a meeting will be held immediately afterward for the purpose of starting an English-speaking branch in Stapleton. A party picnic will be held on July 5 at Inlet Park, Staten Island, for the fund of the Bloomfield, N. J., Labor Lyceum.

The 14th A. D. has arranged to hold an open-air meeting on Friday evening, June 12, at the southwest corner of Ninth street and Avenue C. Comrades Abraham and Phillips will speak.

The Young People's Social Democratic Club of the 19th and 20th A. D., Brooklyn, is holding very well attended meetings in the Labor Lyceum. At the last meeting \$10 was appropriated to be sent to national headquarters for the Special Organizing Fund. Tickets were received from the Freie Deutsche Schule and the Root and Shoe Workers' Union and it was resolved to attend the Local Queens County festival in a body. The club voted to subscribe for twenty-five copies of "The Worker" weekly to be used for propaganda. A committee was chosen to get a small picnic ground for the club members to have a day of enjoyment after a great deal of hard work done. Meanwhile, they are getting ready to tackle anything in the line of campaign work that may come their way. During June, July, and August the club will meet on a first and third Thursday evening of each month. A few organizations have not yet accounted for tickets for last month's picnic. As soon as this is done a definite report will be made.

FOR CITY CONVENTION. To the Local and Assembly District Organizations of the Socialist Democratic Party in the City of New York. Take notice that a convention of the Socialist Democratic Party of the City of New York, for the purpose of nominating candidates for city officers for the ensuing election and to attend to such other matters as may come before the convention, will be held on Saturday, the fourth day of July, 1933, at 10 A. M., in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 440-455 Wiloughby avenue, Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York.

The basis of representation to said convention is: One delegate for every Assembly District and an additional delegate for every twenty members in good standing.

For the City Executive Committee of the S. D. P. of the City of New York.

M. M. BARTHOLOMEW, Secretary.

PRIMARIES IN NEW YORK COUNTY.

Primaries of the Socialist Democratic Party of New York County, to elect delegates to City, County, Borough, Assembly and Aldermanic District Conventions, will be held on Saturday, June 20, from 7 p. m. to 9:30 p. m., at the following places:

BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN.

First A. D., at 150 Spring street, restaurant.

Second A. D., at 184 William street, office of the "New Yorker Volkszeitung."

Third A. D., at 120 Varick street, residence of Comrade Lowland.

Fourth A. D., at the club rooms of the Socialist Literary Society, 232 E. Broadway.

Fifth A. D., at 235 W. Fourth street, residence of Paul Friedman.

Sixth A. D., at 325 Broome street, residence of F. Mick.

Seventh A. D., at 204 W. Fifteenth street, residence of Paul Warner.

Eighth A. D., at 260 Broome street, hall.

Ninth A. D., at 341 W. Twenty-fourth street, residence of John Murphy.

Tenth A. D., at 120 E. Third street, club rooms.

Eleventh A. D., at 415 Ninth avenue, upholstery store.

Twelfth A. D., at Great Central Palace, 90-92 Clinton street.

Thirteenth A. D., at the West Side Labor Lyceum, 342 W. Forty-second street.

Fourteenth A. D., at 202-204 First avenue, residence of Henry Burich.

Fifteenth A. D., at 406 W. Fifth street.

Sixteenth A. D., at 200 E. Fourth street, residence of S. Galt.

Seventeenth A. D., at 550 W. Fifth street, residence of Comrade Friedman.

Eighteenth A. D., at 614 E. Seventh street, shoe store.

Nineteenth A. D., at 135 Amsterdam avenue, hall.

Twentieth A. D., at 3014 Twenty-ninth street, tailor shop.

Twenty-first A. D., at 644 Columbus avenue, stationery store.

Twenty-second A. D., at 241 E. Forty-second street, hall.

Twenty-third A. D., at Buchanan's Hall, N. E. corner of One Hundred and Forty-second street and Eighth avenue.

Twenty-fourth A. D., at 360 E. Fifth street, hall.

Twenty-fifth A. D., at 126 E. Tenth street, tailoring store.

Twenty-sixth A. D., at 448 E. Seventy-second street, newspaper office.

Twenty-seventh A. D., at 260 West Forty-first street, residence of Comrade Horvath.

Twenty-eighth A. D., at 1697 Avenue A.

Twenty-ninth A. D., at 177 West Fifty-third street, Grocery store.

Thirtieth A. D., at the clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street.

Thirty-first A. D., at 133 West One Hundred and Thirtieth street, residence of L. D. Mayer.

Thirty-second A. D., at 1709 Lexington avenue, office of Dr. Rubinow.

Thirty-third A. D., at 121 E. One Hundred and Twelfth street, office of Dr. Ingemann.

BOROUGH OF BRONX.

Thirty-fourth A. D., at N. E. corner One Hundred and Forty-sixth street and Third avenue, Janasse's Hall.

Thirty-fifth A. D., at 3300 Third avenue, club-house.

Annexed Districts, at Masonic Hall, Main street, Westchester.

By order of the General Committee of the Socialist Democratic Party of New York County.

W. J. F. HANNEMANN, Sec'y.

YORNVILLE PARTY MEETING.

The Yorkville Agitation Committee has arranged a mass meeting of all the enrolled Socialist Democratic voters in the Yorkville districts on Saturday evening, June 20, at the Clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street, for the purpose of inducing all enrolled Socialists to join the party. A printed circular in English and German has been sent out to each enrolled S. D. P. voter. Prominent speakers will address the meeting and show the necessity of joining the party organization. Members should make propaganda for this meeting.

SIMONS ON MILLS' MOTION.

Editor of "The Worker": The recent referendum on the question of headquarters and Local Queens has undoubtedly resulted in a somewhat confusing situation. Nevertheless it is by no means an impossible situation, and indeed it is easy to exaggerate the difficulties which might arise in transacting business with the headquarters in Omaha and a Local Quorum in other states. There is nothing whatever in the situation which in the least justifies the attitude which has been taken by some of the defenders of the Omaha position. As I have stated elsewhere, my sympathies have been largely with the Western and newer wing of the movement. I am not in the corner which are absolutely essential to any strong indigenous Socialist movement and a possible reaction from the sectarian doctrinaires which had dominated the party in the past. At that time, however, I am absolutely opposed to losing anything that is good in the old for the sake of getting the new. I have no sympathy whatever with the idea that the comrades will ever form the major portion or the basis of the Socialist movement, and nothing that I have ever stated could give any foundation for imputing such a position to me as has been done in some quarters. The Socialist movement is fundamentally a revolt of the wage-working proletariat, but I have maintained and I see no reason whatever to change my views that the farming class of America, particularly of the Western cities, have practically identical interests with the wage-working proletariat, so far as concerns those general issues which are settled on the political field. Therefore there is every reason to believe that this portion of the population constitutes the basis for Socialist propaganda, and that large increases of the Socialist strength may be expected from them in the near future. This was the position which I took in my pamphlet, "Socialism and Farmers," and later in my book on the "American Farmer," and so far I have not seen any attempt to refute this position that indulged in anything but generalizations. At the present time, however, we see an attempt to overthrow the expressed will of the party membership, and to infringe on the fundamental principles of democracy by some of those who are posing as representatives of the farming class and western wage-workers, and with this I have no sympathy. When Comrade Mills makes the astounding proposition that the decision of the referendum be disregarded, pending the taking of a new referendum on the same question, and when this is followed with the still more outrageous proposition of the "Appeal to Reason," to completely disregard that referendum, it shows that those expressing such sentiments are unfit to be interested with the party movement. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, I have a recognition of those facts on the part of the membership which led to the very much larger vote against the Omaha Quorum than was polled against that city as the seat of national headquarters. Had the comrades composing the Local Quorum not taken the attitude which they did towards party tactics and the constitution, I feel quite sure that they might have decided in favor of the referendum with the office with the headquarters at Omaha.

This distrust of the membership seems to be something peculiar to a few individuals who are leading the Omaha movement, and I shall be loath to believe that it is an essential part of the "Western idea" of Socialism. It was first seen in their attempt to prevent a referendum on the question of headquarters, and now in the case of Comrade Critchlow it seems to have reached a point where they would even seek to suppress a free expression of opinion by the membership. The attempted argument of the "Appeal to Reason" to the effect that the present situation comes in conflict with the constitution is childish. It has always been a principle of every capitalist institution, association and assembly, in precise the law forbids political organization on working-class lines, so that for the present the Socialist forces are embodied only in the labor unions and in educational societies. Parliamentary elections will probably be held next fall, but it seems uncertain whether the Socialists will be able to participate in them. The property qualification excludes about 54 per cent. of the population from the exercise of the franchise. There has recently been established a little Socialist weekly called "Nova Veritas" ("The New Truth") of which three large papers have already been contacted by the police. The "Radicalizing Movement" ("Labor Journal") now appears three times a week, instead of once a week, as formerly.

SOCIALISM IN SERVICE.

A Serbian comrade writes in the May number of the "Hrvatski Socialist" on the condition of the movement in that country. As Serbia is very backward in its economic development, the industrial industry existing only in a rudimentary state, the class divisions, while strongly marked, have not taken on that definite form which makes possible a clear and strong proletarian political party. As yet the Socialist movement is more or less confused with the merely liberal-democratic tendencies. Moreover, although the constitution theoretically guarantees freedom of association and assembly, in practice the law forbids political organization on working-class lines, so that for the present the Socialist forces are embodied only in the labor unions and in educational societies. Parliamentary elections will probably be held next fall, but it seems uncertain whether the Socialists will be able to participate in them. The property qualification excludes about 54 per cent. of the population from the exercise of the franchise. There has recently been established a little Socialist weekly called "Nova Veritas" ("The New Truth") of which three large papers have already been contacted by the police. The "Radicalizing Movement" ("Labor Journal") now appears three times a week, instead of once a week, as formerly.

Chicago, June 2.

THE MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

The report of the state secretary, Jan. N. Smith, of the Socialist Party of Illinois, for the month of May shows a balance May 1, \$5,000; income for May, \$187.40; expenditures, \$150.30; balance on hand June 1, \$37.10. Due stamp on account: balance May 1, 201; bought during May, 1,200; sold during month, 1,470; on hand June 1, 150. The following locals have not paid any dues for the past three months or longer and are therefore in bad standing: Chicago, Coal City, Belvidere, East Dubuque, Jacksonville, Joliet, Peotone, Mazon, and Moline. New locals have been organized during the month at Waukegan, Lake County, with 20 members; Oakley, La Salle County, with 11 members; Centralia, Marion County, with 10 members. The following comrades and organizations made donations to the Organizational Fund: Jan. N. Smith, \$5; W. M. Wagon, \$1; M. Stangland, \$2.50; William Tynes, \$1.25; 22nd Ward, \$2; 7th Ward, \$3; George Ballard, \$5; H. P. Lindgren, \$7.50; 34th Ward, \$2; Ben Greenwald, \$5; L. M. Morrison, \$1; Local Elgin City, \$1; J. Meule, \$1; total, \$31.55.

The response to this very important fund is as yet rather slow, but it is hoped that the comrades will soon be able to send in their contributions so as to enable the State Committee to send out an organizer by the 15th of June. The following locals and branches have sent in their vote on the referendum to amend Articles 3 and 4 of the state constitution: Bloomington, Elgin, Lacon, Elgin Carbon, and Decatur, and the 1st, 7th, 10th, 17th, 18th, 21st, 29th, 33d, No. 2, 34th, and 35th Wards of Chicago. It is very certain that all locals and branches take action on this at once, since the vote counts on June 15, so that the work of organizing along county lines may begin with the second half of this year. Preparations are being made at headquarters to send out an able organizer. Comrade Collins, who is now in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, has consented to accept the position, and will perhaps be elected state organizer, and no doubt will make an excellent man for that purpose. He will begin his work in the division composed of the counties of Kane, Kendall, the Kane, Lee and Whitesides, with headquarters at Elgin. Under the comrades already elected to this division committee, with Comrade Peter Kennedy, 307 Jay street, as chairman. This committee will have the work of the organizer in charge, routing him from place to place within the division, and will place themselves in touch with all the locals in the district. It is important that the locals constituting the headquarters in a scheme of which is appended to this column, have their reports on the division of the county ready to be sent to the division committee, and that large increases of the Socialist strength may be expected from them in the near future. This was the position which I took in my pamphlet, "Socialism and Farmers," and later in my book on the "American Farmer," and so far I have not seen any attempt to refute this position that indulged in anything but generalizations. At the present time, however, we see an attempt to overthrow the expressed will of the party membership, and to infringe on the fundamental principles of democracy by some of those who are posing as representatives of the farming class and western wage-workers, and with this I have no sympathy. When Comrade Mills makes the astounding proposition that the decision of the referendum be disregarded, pending the taking of a new referendum on the same question, and when this is followed with the still more outrageous proposition of the "Appeal to Reason," to completely disregard that referendum, it shows that those expressing such sentiments are unfit to be interested with the party movement. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, I have a recognition of those facts on the part of the membership which led to the very much larger vote against the Omaha Quorum than was polled against that city as the seat of national headquarters. Had the comrades composing the Local Quorum not taken the attitude which they did towards party tactics and the constitution, I feel quite sure that they might have decided in favor of the referendum with the office with the headquarters at Omaha.

This distrust of the membership seems to be something peculiar to a few individuals who are leading the Omaha movement, and I shall be loath to believe that it is an essential part of the "Western idea" of Socialism. It was first seen in their attempt to prevent a referendum on the question of headquarters, and now in the case of Comrade Critchlow it seems to have reached a point where they would even seek to suppress a free expression of opinion by the membership. The attempted argument of the "Appeal to Reason" to the effect that the present situation comes in conflict with the constitution is childish. It has always been a principle of every capitalist institution, association and assembly, in precise the law forbids political organization on working-class lines, so that for the present the Socialist forces are embodied only in the labor unions and in educational societies. Parliamentary elections will probably be held next fall, but it seems uncertain whether the Socialists will be able to participate in them. The property qualification excludes about 54 per cent. of the population from the exercise of the franchise. There has recently been established a little Socialist weekly called "Nova Veritas" ("The New Truth") of which three large papers have already been contacted by the police. The "Radicalizing Movement" ("Labor Journal") now appears three times a week, instead of once a week, as formerly.

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Chicago, June 2.

THE MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

The report of the state secretary, Jan. N. Smith, of the Socialist Party of Illinois, for the month of May shows a balance May 1, \$5,000; income for May, \$187.40; expenditures, \$150.30; balance on hand June 1, \$37.10. Due stamp on account: balance May 1, 201; bought during May, 1,200; sold during month, 1,470; on hand June 1, 150. The following locals have not paid any dues for the past three months or longer and are therefore in bad standing: Chicago, Coal City, Belvidere, East Dubuque, Jacksonville, Joliet, Peotone, Mazon, and Moline. New locals have been organized during the month at Waukegan, Lake County, with 20 members; Oakley, La Salle County, with 11 members; Centralia, Marion County, with 10 members. The following comrades and organizations made donations to the Organizational Fund: Jan. N. Smith, \$5; W. M. Wagon, \$1; M. Stangland, \$2.50; William Tynes, \$1.25; 22nd Ward, \$2; 7th Ward, \$3; George Ballard, \$5; H. P. Lindgren, \$7.50; 34th Ward, \$2; Ben Greenwald, \$5; L. M. Morrison, \$1; Local Elgin City, \$1; J. Meule, \$1; total, \$31.55.

The response to this very important fund is as yet rather slow, but it is hoped that the comrades will soon be able to send in their contributions so as to enable the State Committee to send out an organizer by the 15th of June. The following locals and branches have sent in their vote on the referendum to amend Articles 3 and 4 of the state constitution: Bloomington, Elgin, Lacon, Elgin Carbon, and Decatur, and the 1st, 7th, 10th, 17th, 18th, 21st, 29th, 33d, No. 2, 34th, and 35th Wards of Chicago. It is very certain that all locals and branches take action on this at once, since the vote counts on June 15, so that the work of organizing along county lines may begin with the second half of this year. Preparations are being made at headquarters to send out an able organizer. Comrade Collins, who is now in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, has consented to accept the position, and will perhaps be elected state organizer, and no doubt will make an excellent man for that purpose. He will begin his work in the division composed of the counties of Kane, Kendall, the Kane, Lee and Whitesides, with headquarters at Elgin. Under the comrades already elected to this division committee, with Comrade Peter Kennedy, 307 Jay street, as chairman. This committee will have the work of the organizer in charge, routing him from place to place within the division, and will place themselves in touch with all the locals in the district. It is important that the locals constituting the headquarters in

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The Worker

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VOL. XIII.—NO. 12. NEW YORK, JUNE 21, 1903. PRICE 2 CENTS.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Senate Kills MacCartney's Election Bill Amendment.

Upper House is Afraid to Give Socialist Party Representation at the Polling Places—Necessity of our Invading the Senate—Death of Mrs. Mailly—White's Work in Maine.

BOSTON, Mass., June 15.—During the past week the measure introduced by our late Comrade MacCartney, giving us representation on election boards and precinct officers at the polls, which had been passed by the House, was defeated by the Senate. This measure was a part of the new election laws known as the Luce Bill. Had the measure passed the Senate, it would have given us representation behind the rail in all precincts, towns or cities, where our last vote exceeded forty. The committee felt quite elated when this measure passed the House, knowing that it was entered into law. It would assure the counting of many Socialist votes that, under present arrangements, are disregarded or reported as scattering. It will be remembered, as previously stated in The Worker, that Carey in advocating the bill showed definitely that there were precincts where there were known Socialists who had voted but where the election officers made no return of such a vote.

The Obstructionist Senate.

As is the custom on the disengagement of the houses, a committee of conference is appointed to strive to effect some compromise acceptable to both branches. Comrade MacCartney and his three from the House, and with him were Representatives Dumas of Malden, Republican, and Schofield of Middlesex, Democrat. The Senate members advocated reference to the next General Court—that is, postponement for a year. The three House members advocated the passage of the bill as a measure of simple justice to the Socialists. The Senate members, however, remained dilatory in their attitude, and the committee was obliged to report that no agreement could be reached. Now follows the appointment of another committee on conference composed of other members and there is every reason to believe that the Senate will carry its point and the justice which the Socialists asked at the hands of this Legislature will be denied.

This shows more than ever the necessity of the comrades setting together in the Senatorial districts for the purpose of electing some members of our party to that body. It will follow as a certainty that if we elect even one or two members to the Senate we will have the same influence in that body that our three members have had in the lower branch. Even though we are not successful in electing any of our Senatorial candidates, if we make a good fight and largely increase our vote in any of the Senatorial districts, we will cause that alarm to the other parties that will force them, through fear, to give such legislation as, in our movement.

Misrepresentation Still Goes On.

The capitalist papers are again at their work trying to create prejudice by misquoting the words of our speakers. At the memorial meeting held under the auspices of the Boston Central Committee, Comrade Carey, in speaking of MacCartney's sensitive nature, said that the capitalist newspapers cut the heart out of the Socialist addresses, quoting a part of that which the speakers had said, causing it to convey an entirely different meaning, and told how much this had pleased MacCartney. The Boston Herald said that "Carey says the press cuts the heart out of the Socialist speakers—and we won't cut the heart out of this"—and then made him say in the close of his address: "When I die, I want no flowers, no flowers; just hold a Socialist meeting, and if my enemies want to throw bricks, let 'em." The papers are making much of this, appealing to the religious prejudice of the church-going people in their desire to injure the Socialist Party. But, as it happens, Carey never used the word "church." What he did say was: "When I die, I want no flowers, no flowers; just hold a Socialist meeting, and if my enemies want to throw bricks, let 'em."

While we regret that our comrades should be put in a false light in this matter, yet it actually seems to work for our good. Had it been printed just as Carey said it, it would perhaps have created no comment and inquiry upon the part of those who are not yet Socialists. As it is, it gives the opportunity to the comrades everywhere to make denial and in show the attitude of the capitalist press toward the Socialist. When those who have inquired see the purpose behind such reports, they then begin to understand that there are other things, too, to which they cannot give credence.

Comrade Mailly's mother died at Haverhill on Monday, June 8, and was buried from the St. James Catholic Church, on Wednesday, with Comrades Mayor Planders, Beala, Hayman, Kelly, Ryan, and Garrett Carey as pallbearers. It was her illness that brought Comrade Mailly to Massachusetts, and with her death the long vigil by her bedside was ended and he left for Omaha to take up his duties again as National Secretary.

White's Work in Maine.

I have just returned from Maine, after eight days of campaigning, to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee, and will leave again for

MEINE TO SPEAK AT FREESPORT ON TUESDAY NIGHT; AT DRESDEN, WEDNESDAY; RICHMOND, THURSDAY; AUGUSTA, FRIDAY; BANGOR, SATURDAY AND SUNDAY; ELIZABETH, MONDAY, JUNE 22; MILLIS, MONDAY, JUNE 23; RETURNING TO BANGOR, JUNE 24; WILMINGTON, JUNE 25; AND BANGOR, JUNE 26. IT CAN SAFELY BE SAID THAT THE SENTIMENT FOR SOCIALISM IS RAMPANT IN THE STATE OF MAINE. I TRAVELED THROUGH SECTIONS THAT WERE ALMOST ENTIRELY AGRICULTURAL, WITHOUT A SINGLE INDUSTRY, AND AMONG THE FARMING COMMUNITY FOUND PEOPLE READY FOR SOCIALISM. I CONCLUDED THE WEEK AT BANGOR, SPEAKING TO A GOOD AUDIENCE IN THE CITY HALL. I LEFT THERE AT 11:20 IN THE NIGHT AND WAS JUST BEGINNING TO GROW WEARY WITH THE LONG JOURNEY WHEN WE RAN INTO PORTSMOUTH, N. H., AND COMRADE BROWN BOARDED THE TRAIN, HAVING SPOKE AT PORTSMOUTH THE EVENING BEFORE, SO THAT FROM 3 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING UNTIL SIX I HAD THE PLEASURE OF HIS COMPANY.

Russian Social Democratic Organ Points the Way.

Antisemitism the "Last Card" of Tsarism—Social Democrats Must by Word and Deed Resist Outrages and Turn Discontent Against the Government.

The "Spark," the organ of the Russian Social Democrats, published in London, has an extensive article on the Kishineff affair, some portions of which are worthy of the close attention of American readers. Omitting the earlier part, in which many shocking details of the outrages are related, we quote:

"Who perpetrated these horrors? Who brought weeping and wailing into the midst of the most defenseless among the defenseless? The mob of wreckers was of a very mixed character. There were laborers, artisans, and peasants. It is remarkable that in many instances the mob was led by the 'cultured' nobles, members of the City Council, and doctors, not to mention, adds the report of the local committee, the sympathetic approval of the mob's acts by the watching police, consisting of officials with their ladies (in the case of the nobles), army officers, and merchants, who by jeering and jokes encouraged and egged on the mob, inflamed its wild instincts, and brought it to a frenzy. Students rode on bicycles and kept the different divisions of the mob in communication. Officers and the cultured (so-called) took advantage of the disorder to supply themselves with stationery from the wrecked store of the Jew Shach."

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GERMAN SOCIALISTS MAKE GREAT GAINS.

More Than Four Hundred Thousand Increase Over Popular Vote of 1898.

Social Democratic Party Carries Five of Berlin's Six Districts—Sweeps Saxony—Tremendous Gain in Krupp's Town of Essen—At Least Forty-nine Members Assured on First Elections and Many More on Second Ballot.

The news of the German Reichstag election held on June 16 is still far from complete as we go to press, but enough is known to assure us that the Social Democratic Party has this time made the greatest forward step in its history.

At the lowest estimate, over 2,500,000 Social Democratic votes were cast, an increase of 400,000 over the figures of the last general election in 1898.

The Social Democratic group in the Reichstag will probably be increased by about twenty members.

The gain has been made at the expense of all the other parties, the Heister radicals suffering especially and the power of the Center or Clerical party being broken in many strongholds. Eugen Richter himself is defeated.

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RAILROAD STATISTICS.

Points from Interstate Commerce Commission's Report.

While Aggregate Profits Have Increased Over 74 per Cent. in Eight Years—Aggregate Wages Have Increased Only 53 per Cent.—Average Wages Raised Less Than 18 per Cent., While Prices Rose 30 per Cent.

The report of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission for the year 1902 (that is, the year ending June 30, 1902) contains some interesting figures illustrating the general tendency in the capitalist system, as the product of labor increases to give ever a larger share to the capitalists and a smaller share to the wage-workers.

The following table shows the aggregate "net earnings" (that is, clear profits) and the aggregate wages paid to employees for all the railroads in the United States during the last eight years. We give the figures in round millions of dollars.

	Profits.	Wages.
1895	350	440
1896	377	469
1897	370	466
1898	429	495
1899	457	523
1900	528	577
1901	558	611
1902	610	670

During this period aggregate wages increased nearly 52 per cent. But aggregate net profits increased more than 74 per cent.

Moreover, it must be considered that the reports do not by any means show the full amount of real profits. Many items that really belong in the column of net profits are juxted into the expense account. It is safe to say that if we had the detailed figures before us we could show the actual profits to be 10 or 15 per cent. greater than they here appear. Still, the official figures are strong enough and show the tendency of concentration of wealth and increasingly intense exploitation of labor.

During the period covered by this table the number of employees rose from 785,084 to 1,180,215. A simple comparison will show that average money wages for all the employees rose only from \$317 a year in 1895 to \$368 a year in 1902—a gain of less than 16 per cent.

Meanwhile, as shown by Dun's and Bradstreet's reports, the prices of the food, clothing, and fuel the workingmen have to buy and the rent they have to pay out of these wages have risen at least 25 or 30 per cent. in the same period.

It is to be borne in mind, too, that the work of the railroad men has become much more strenuous. Heavier trains are run and run at higher speed, involving much greater nervous strain and often longer hours, than eight years ago.

A CARD FROM MILLS.

Editor of The Worker—My attention has just been called to an article in a recent number of the New York Worker, in which I am told I am spoken of as a possible candidate for the nomination for the presidency on the Socialist ticket in the next election.

Will you give me space in your columns to say that I am not, nor have I been, nor will I be, a party to any such proposal in any way whatever?

May I further urge anyone who in any way entertains such a thought not to urge any such proposal which would surely interfere with my usefulness to the cause of Socialism as a teacher and lecturer, and at the same time suggest a task which I have neither the wish nor the qualifications to undertake.

Yours fraternally,
WALTER THOMAS MILLS.
Denver, Colo., June 9.

TO JEWISH COMRADES.

A joint meeting of all Jewish members of the Social Democratic Party of Greater New York and vicinity will take place on Sunday, June 21, at 7 p. m., in the clubrooms of the Socialist Literary Society, 232 E. Broadway, Manhattan, for the purpose of discussing how to secure for our party and its views a fair and effective literary representation in the Jewish language.

Comrades, can your conscience endure still longer the shameful misrepresentation of our party and the discrediting of our most sacred traditions and convictions one after another? Observe, comrades, that the ever increasing Jewish proletariat is considered by clever politicians as a very great factor ever growing in importance, and is "worked" by them accordingly. Therefore it is in the interest of the unfortunate proletariat of our race, as well as in the interest of our party, jealously to guard this great factor from being misused by our enemies against us.

If you realize this and if you have the interests of our cause at heart, then do not fail to be present at the joint meeting, in order to devise ways and means of defending our cause, our party, and its views effectively before the Jewish masses!

Fraternally,
LANE, GRAF, LIPSHITZ, HALPERIN.
Secretaries, 8th, 16th, 4th, and 12th A. D. & D. P.

—For information about the Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) in New York address the State Secretary, Henry I. Shohidin, 90 Second Avenue, New York City.

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Denver, Colo., June 9.

TO JEWISH COMRADES.

A joint meeting of all Jewish members of the Social Democratic Party of Greater New York and vicinity will take place on Sunday, June 21, at 7 p. m., in the clubrooms of the Socialist Literary Society, 232 E. Broadway, Manhattan, for the purpose of discussing how to secure for our party and its views a fair and effective literary representation in the Jewish language.

Comrades, can your conscience endure still longer the shameful misrepresentation of our party and the discrediting of our most sacred traditions and convictions one after another? Observe, comrades, that the ever increasing Jewish proletariat is considered by clever politicians as a very great factor ever growing in importance, and is "worked" by them accordingly. Therefore it is in the interest of the unfortunate proletariat of our race, as well as in the interest of our party, jealously to guard this great factor from being misused by our enemies against us.

If you realize this and if you have the interests of our cause at heart, then do not fail to be present at the joint meeting, in order to devise ways and means of defending our cause, our party, and its views effectively before the Jewish masses!

Fraternally,
LANE, GRAF, LIPSHITZ, HALPERIN.
Secretaries, 8th, 16th, 4th, and 12th A. D. & D. P.

—For information about the Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) in New York address the State Secretary, Henry I. Shohidin, 90 Second Avenue, New York City.

RAILROAD STATISTICS.

Points from Interstate Commerce Commission's Report.

While Aggregate Profits Have Increased Over 74 per Cent. in Eight Years—Aggregate Wages Have Increased Only 53 per Cent.—Average Wages Raised Less Than 18 per Cent., While Prices Rose 30 per Cent.

The report of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission for the year 1902 (that is, the year ending June 30, 1902) contains some interesting figures illustrating the general tendency in the capitalist system, as the product of labor increases to give ever a larger share to the capitalists and a smaller share to the wage-workers.

The following table shows the aggregate "net earnings" (that is, clear profits) and the aggregate wages paid to employees for all the railroads in the United States during the last eight years. We give the figures in round millions of dollars.

	Profits.	Wages.	m
5	350	440	en
3	377	469	to
7	370	466	pl
8	429	495	of
9	457	523	na
0	528	577	
1	558	611	
2	610	670	

WHAT LABOR'S VOTES HAVE DONE; WHAT LABOR'S VOTES MIGHT DO.

This is the true story of what Labor's votes have done for Labor—the story of a very unprofitable business.

Labor's votes have elected legislators who refused to pass laws favorable to Labor, but insisted upon passing laws against Labor's interest. Every law against Labor ever placed upon our statute books came from the votes of Labor itself.

Labor's votes have elected governors and mayors who at every opportunity have used all their powers to crush Labor and defeat its interests. When strikers are bludgeoned by police, or shot down by militia or Federal troops, Labor's votes are responsible.

Labor's votes have made judges who vie with each other to harm Labor and destroy its defenses. They have declared every law which might help Labor to be "unconstitutional." They have granted injunctions by the hundreds to prevent Labor in its struggle against Capital. Every judicial decision hostile to Labor is really written by Labor's votes.

Labor's votes have given into the hands of its enemies every one of the most important and efficient weapons which it might wield against them in its fight for justice.

That is the story in a few words of this very unprofitable business. Don't you think Labor might do well to change over and vote for itself?

And what Labor's votes might do if Labor were to vote for itself—what you ever thought of that?

If Labor were loyal to itself its votes could elect to every office from that of the Chief Executive to that of the humblest official man and woman in perfect sympathy with its own desire for liberty and improved conditions.

Its votes could wipe out from the statute books every law unfavorable to itself, and every law favorable to corporate greed.

Its votes could write upon the statute books laws for its own protection and the protection of the honest and the unborn and could ensure their en-

forcement by giving the power into friendly hands.

Its votes could throw open the gates of the factories and send the child laborer out into the sunlight to live and thrive instead of slowly die and pine as now they do. And the little breaker boys, bent and aged with toil already, could be freed at a stroke if voting Labor knew its own power—and was loyal to itself.

Its votes could throw open the sweatshop hell, and free its pent-up victims, weak, hollow-eyed, haggard men, women, and old men, and bid them enter upon the glorious life of life which capitalism withholds from them.

Labor's votes could close every filthy and unwholesome tenement; they could free every man and every woman from the carking care of poverty—the dread of want in the closing days of life.

By its votes Labor could break the chains of commercialism which bind it; it could sweep away the little blind it has made and say to the few who own them: "I will not be crushed down by this creature of my own making; that which I have made I will own and govern and use."

World-conscious and awakened Labor could bid the red dragon of War depart, and free the world from its horrors and ghastly wrongs. It could, it could bring peace and good to all, could bring the earth. The only guarantee of Peace the world can ever have must come from Labor's votes.

Labor's votes! No pen, no words of the inspired orator, or of the most gifted writer, can measure the power indicated by these words. So powerful for evil or good are the votes of Labor that the shame or glory of the world must rest upon them. All the industrial wealth and security of the world rests upon them, and only from them can come industrial righteousness and peace.

When Labor so decides it will end, by its votes, the whole hideous system of capitalism and build in its place the new earth of economic justice and moral beauty—the Socialist Commonwealth of Brotherhood and Joy—John Spargo, in the *Reading Sentinel*.

NEW YORK.

(Continued from page 1.)

sult, a local with twenty members. Delogville is out for a century of members.

Laurelton is in the roll. They talk of capturing the town. These young locals are as fresh as the morning dew.

Local Corning is enthusiastic over the automobile plan. Pledges \$5 at once and thinks it will stand bleeding for \$25 more.

Saltbury is in travail and a local will be forthcoming. Comrade Charles A. Lee acts as midwife.

Orange County locals should appoint a good roads committee. They will see what two Socialists on an automobile look like.

There is "something dola" in Olean. Comrade E. P. Jennings, Jr., "happened" there. The results are as follows, as reported in the local daily: "THE SOCIALISTS ORGANIZE."

"Open-air Meetings Followed by a Local Organization."

"The Socialists held an open-air meeting last night at corner of State and Union streets, at which several local speakers made short addresses. The street meeting adjourned to Capitol Hall where Editor Grimm of the *Ashtabula Republican*, the only Socialist paper this side of Erie, Pa., gave a very interesting address, after which a branch of the Social Democratic party was organized. E. P. Jennings, Jr., of the Typographical Union was elected chairman of the meeting. Permanent officers elected for a three months' term were: Willie Hess of the Boiler Makers' Union, secretary-treasurer; J. J. Johnson of the Painters and Paperhangers' Union, organizer; and Wm. Westerman of the Coal Miners' Union, president of the Boiler Makers' Union, literature agent. A committee was elected composed of Frank Berry of the Boiler Makers, William Flannigan, Willie Hess, E. P. Jennings, Jr., and J. M. Johnson to wait upon the Central Labor Council and secure their co-operation in getting a place for some representative labor speaker in the coming month of July celebration in Olean and to co-operate in securing such speaker."

An active member of Local Olean is E. J. Nicholson, once a Populist editor, former organizer of the A. B. U., and all round rebel.

Albany is stirring. There will be some news. H. L. S.

TO THE COMRADES OF NEW JERSEY.

The State Committee calls for Volunteers to Organize in Every Part of the State—A Good Start is Made.

ARLINGTON, N. J., June 14.—Notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, the meeting of the New Jersey State Committee was not only well attended, but proved the most harmonious of any that has been held for a long time. There was not a single discordant note uttered. An unusual amount of business was transacted, and of the character that stands for united and determined effort for the upbuilding of the organization.

W. L. Oswald, of the State Organization Committee, having generously offered to spend his two weeks' vacation in the service of the party, has been directed to visit Camden, Vineland, Haddonfield, Newfield, Millville, Pilestone, Atlantic City, Manasquan, Point Pleasant, Long Branch, Newton, Metamora, Wharton, Port Morris, and Dover. Comrades Kraft, Gobel, and Billings have volunteered a like period of service. The Committee is buoyed with the hope that a sufficient number of comrades can be procured for a longer or shorter period to enable them to perfect a plan for the covering of these points at regular intervals until the branches are firmly established. Plans are also in process of formation for periodic short explorations for the benefit of comrades who are desirous of service, but who cannot re-

main away more than a single night or a day at the most.

A very large portion of the state is not organized. In much of this territory the gospel of the New Time has not been preached. While it is well to perfect our own houses in order, we must not forget that we are our brother's keeper, and hearing the cry for enlightenment and assistance, we must go over and help him. Fortify your post, by all means; but don't neglect to forge in the enemy's territory.

If the territory adjacent to you is unoccupied, tell us about it and let us have your name and address and that of any comrades who will help you on a one night or day exploring expedition.

Before frost comes there should be a Socialist and a soap-box in every town in every county in the state. This desire of your State Committee is possible of fruition. Can and will you help?

Socialists of New Jersey, soldiers of the army of the New Time, the war has begun; every male brings to the ears the clash of resounding arms. We want no truce and can only secure peace by an overwhelming victory at the ballot-box. To secure this we must agitate, educate and organize.

Every man who can utter half a dozen class-conscious sentences is called to the colors. Who will volunteer for special service? If you can give any time at all, if only a single night, let us hear from you.

H. R. KEARNS,
State Secretary.

PARTY WORK IN PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., June 15.—At today's meeting of the State Committee, Comrade Weber presiding, a clarion was sounded to new local at New York, Westchester County, Connecticut, and Maryland. Comrade Jones, of the Pennsylvania, literature agent. A committee was elected composed of Frank Berry of the Boiler Makers, William Flannigan, Willie Hess, E. P. Jennings, Jr., and J. M. Johnson to wait upon the Central Labor Council and secure their co-operation in getting a place for some representative labor speaker in the coming month of July celebration in Olean and to co-operate in securing such speaker."

The splendid showing and the satisfactory work done at the state convention seem to have inspired the comrades everywhere throughout the state with new vigor and enthusiasm. Ashtabula reports that they are progressing well, and expect before long to enroll a large membership. The comrades in Charleston have had a number of successful meetings. Comrade Caldwell spoke there on June 5 and 6. Louis Gonzales spoke in Coal Center on June 6 to a splendid audience and sold a large quantity of literature. On Sunday afternoon, June 7, a meeting was held at Coal Center. Comrade Jones and Caldwell were the speakers.

The Herk County nominating convention will be held at Socialist Hall in Reading on Saturday, June 20. J. C. Frost will speak in Sellersville on Saturday. Ed. Moore will address a meeting at Boyersford on the same evening.

The comrades of Philadelphia are very busy agitating among the striking textile workers. They have got the services of Mother Jones and are holding an average of three meetings a day. The meetings so far arranged are as follows: Monday, 10 a.m., at Klipp and Indiana avenue; 3 p.m., at Twenty-fifth and Green streets; 8 p.m., at Kensington Labor Lyceum; Tuesday, 10 a.m., at Eleventh and Reed streets; 3 p.m., at Seven Shirs Hall, Frankford; 8 p.m., at Manasquan, Wednesday, 10 a.m., at Kensington Labor Lyceum.

At 11 a.m. the child workers in the textile mills will assemble in Independence Square and will march through the business section of the city to the North Plaza of City Hall, where Mother Jones will address, from present indications, an immense gathering of mill workers.

The State Committee calls the attention of the comrades of local to the fact that a considerable number of the locals have not sent in the statement of dues stamps and supplies ordered and received from January 1 to May 25. Those who have not should do so immediately.

F. H. S.

CRITCHLOW OBJECTS.

Editor of *The Worker*: We notes in *The Worker* for June 7 a report of the Ohio state convention which is so erroneous in many particulars that it is absolutely essential that we call the various points to your attention and request that you give them the same publicity as the article in the issue before me. The points are as follows:

1. The convention was held in Fraternal Hall, not Friendship Hall.

2. The secretary of the convention was Chas. Palmer of Canton, L. R. McIntire of Mansfield, Chas. F. Walchold of Bucyrus, Harry C. Thompson of Cincinnati and Chas. J. W. Schroeder of Cincinnati. This is five, instead of three, as was reported by C. R. M.

3. The report of the State Secretary showed the assets of the state organization to be \$504.75, not \$453, as reported by C. R. M.

4. The report of the State Secretary contained no such language as reported, and the report was not referred back at all. Instead it was received as a whole after being gone over by a committee, who reported favorably upon the same, and recommended its adoption as a whole.

5. No resolution was adopted pertaining to an Ohio local. It was reported by C. R. M. Instead there was ordered submitted to a referendum vote an amendment to the constitution, as follows: "That no member be eligible to hold more than one office in the state organization." This is entirely different from what you have given publicity to.

6. Frank P. O'Hare did not "happen" to be in Columbus. He was not there to express views on giving the Columbus comrades the advantage of the propaganda resulting from the public meeting which was held. Comrade O'Hare was routed in Ohio on May 17. Just previous to this date a letter was received from Comrade James O'Neil, the State Secretary of Indiana, saying that he had been unable to route him from May 20 to June 1, as he had been expected, and he hoped that it would not inconvenience us seriously, etc. Comrade O'Hare and myself conferred together over the matter and arranged a quick route across the state with places that had as yet had no agitation this year, and made the route so that he could reach Burton City, Ohio, and Mechanics, Va., where we had previously arranged to speak.

7. A public meeting was held in the evening at Kropf's Hall, with John W. Slayton and Frank P. O'Hare as the speakers. As usual everybody, with possibly one exception, was pleased with the speakers. This is quite different from your report, which purposely ignored Comrade O'Hare.

8. We desire to go on record again, and more emphatically than ever before, against these insinuations against the party's best workers. We have refrained thus far from giving the press the entire proceedings of the convention, having sent out only a synopsis of the acts of that body, but the minutes having arrived today we will prepare at once a complete copy of the official proceedings and submit them to the papers and party membership of Ohio.

9. We do not know anything about what took place among the best informed delegates (as you put it), but we do know that if they did any serious criticizing it was done under cover, and nothing was done on the floor of the convention. No action was taken at all in the matter as could be inferred from your report.

10. The convention was a great success from every point of view, and the report which you have published is such a gross misstatement of facts that it does the movement in Ohio a great injustice, and especially among those comrades who were not able to attend the convention.

11. Hoping that you will give this matter the same publicity that was given the (mis)report, I remain,

W. G. CRITCHLOW,
State Secretary.

NORWEGIAN UNIONS ATTACKED.

In Christiansia a huge demonstration, in which 11,000 to 12,000 men and 1,000 women took part, was held to protest against the infamous bill proposed by the government to render trade unionism impossible. A petition was handed in to the Lagting to amend the bill or reject it. The President, accepting the petition, declared it would receive all attention. Doubtless, so long as the governing classes see that the people are not prepared to amend the bill or reject it. The President, accepting the petition, declared it would receive all attention. Doubtless, so long as the governing classes see that the people are not prepared to amend the bill or reject it.

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F. H. S.

ON THE NATURE OF LIBERTY.

I began to ask myself certain questions concerning the nature of liberty. I had always believed that it was something political; that this thing which so many had hoped for, died for, was an affair of annual elections, and I was dismayed to find that if I imagined the Venetians in possession of universal suffrage, under a government of their own creation, I still could not imagine them to be as happy as they expected to be. The first place they would be as free as they expected to be, especially the poorest sort. But I conceived myself with thinking that their error was the error of a people who were not educated to a true knowledge of liberty. By and by, I thought, when they had been free long enough, they would conceive of it aright, and would be satisfied to take the law that was made for them. In fact, which in its highest effect is self-sacrifice, and of the skies, is chained to the earth in question of necessity, as certainly as the soul is chained to the earth in the body. It is only occasionally a political affair, a civic affair; it is constantly a social affair, a pecuniary affair, an economic affair. It is true that in a tyranny the richest are not free; but in a democracy not only the poor are free, but the rich are free, too. In fact, the rich man is always freer than the poorer man, as he is in every state.

The failure of most revolts, even such as have permanently displaced an oppressor, has been their failure to recognize this fact. If the Venetians had agreed with Garibaldi when he came (he did not come in person, of course), or with Italy when they were freed to it, that the Venetians should be guaranteed the means of livelihood, they would really have freed themselves. If the French revolution had established these conditions the first republic would still be one and indivisible. But the Venetians fancied it was enough to drive out the Austrians; the French thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats. Even the Americans, who have freed themselves from the yoke of slavery, have not freed themselves from the yoke of the capitalist class. They have not freed themselves from the yoke of the capitalist class. They have not freed themselves from the yoke of the capitalist class. They have not freed themselves from the yoke of the capitalist class.

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DEBS ON THE RACE QUESTION.

Able Reply to Manufacturer Parry.

White and Black Workers Must Recognize the Identity of Their Interests—Criticism of Booker T. Washington's Counsel of Servility—Race Division Fatal to the Cause of Freedom.

[The following article was contributed by Eugene V. Debs to a recent number of the Indianapolis "World," a paper devoted to the interests of the Negro race in America.]

The following letter, under date of May 23, 1903, has been received from Mr. Gurley Brewer, Editor of the Indianapolis "World":

"The 'World' is investigating industrial conditions among colored people. Booker T. Washington advocates industrial education for the Negro. Is the attitude of labor unions toward black labor compatible with the teachings of Washington? The 'World' is a colored newspaper and would like to publish your views."

To this letter there was attached a clipping from the "World" containing an article from Mr. D. M. Parry, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, in answer to the same question, the burden of which was that organized labor is a trust and that a majority of its members are opposed to the colored workman, especially in reference to the teachings of Mr. Washington. His arraignment of organized labor closed with the following remarkable paragraph: "Mr. Washington is doing more than merely teaching his fellow Negroes; he is emancipating them from artificial conditions that act as a bar to their progressive development as a race."

Next, there was a time when organized labor in the main was hostile to the Negro, and it must be admitted in all candor that certain unions, still ignorant guard the trades they represent, as well as their unions, against invasion by the colored man, and in this they have always had the active support of the corporations whose interest it is to have workmen, not others' throats, that they may keep them all, black and white, in subjection.

Indeed, it is a fact that wherever labor unions, now or in the past, opposed the Negro, such opposition was inspired, or at least encouraged by the employing class represented by Mr. Parry, who now seeks so assiduously to place the responsibility on the poor ignorant dupes of his capitalistic master.

At Montgomery, Ala., some years ago, a riot was almost precipitated by the indignation of the "upper class" because the labor union under whose auspices I spoke, proposed the admission of Negroes to the opera house, on the floors reserved for white people, and the proprietor of the house declared that the house should be burned to the ground before he would "dignify" negroes should have access to it.

The ignorant members of labor unions, and there are many such, thanks to the system of wage-slavery, Mr. Parry may be sure, who still oppose the Negro, unconsciously echo the interests of their industrial masters, while those who know better and fight the black man are spies and traitors in the service of the same masters.

The convention of the American Railway Union which resulted in the great railroad strike of 1894, after a fierce and protracted debate, turned down the Negro and this was one of the factors in our defeat. The leaders of the opposition, as I remember them, proved subsequently to have been traitors to the union, sent to the convention, doubtless, at the instigation of the corporations to defeat the unity of the working class.

Does not the logic of common sense and business sagacity which Mr. Parry has so successfully employed in power, now in such an eminent degree, confirm this view of the case?

Workers Rapidly Learning.

But in spite of all such influence, the labor movement in general, in America and throughout the world, stands unequivocally committed to receive and treat the Negro upon terms of absolute equality with his white brother, and where this is not the case the genius of unionism is violated and investigation will disclose the fact that corporate power and its henchmen are at the back of it.

The Socialist Party, the political wing of the labor movement, is absolutely free from color prejudice, and the labor union, its economic wing, is rapidly becoming, and in the next few years not a trace of it will remain even in the so-called black belt of the Southern States.

The workers of the world, mainly through organized effort, are becoming conscious of their interests as a class, utterly regardless of color, creed or sex, and in time they will unite and act together upon a common basis of equality in spite of "the world,

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia's Striking Textile Workers Eagerly Listen to Socialist Speakers—Progress Throughout the State.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., June 22.—At last night's meeting of the State Committee, Comrade Ritz, presiding, characters were granted to new locals at Monaca in Beaver County and Wilmerding in Allegheny County.

Communications were read from Locals Pittsburgh, Lehigh, West Newton, Spring Forge, Lansford, Mahanoy City, Royersford, Wilkes-Barre, Irwin, York, Sellersville, Reading, Charleroi, and Pottsville. From all over the state came encouraging reports.

At Sellersville Comrade Frost spoke to one of the largest and best meetings ever held in that place.

Lehigh reports that things look bright in that neighborhood and from present indications they will have a good sized local in the near future.

Carlson County is making preparations for holding a county convention and placing a ticket in the field.

Local Lansford reports that they were compelled to suspend one of their comrades who for a member of the Town Council for his collusion with the old-party members in electing a Chief of Police.

Louis Goussion of Charleroi has accepted the nomination for Judge of Superior Court to fill the vacancy on the ticket caused by the resignation of Comrade Heydrick.

Nowhere in the Keystone State is there a grander field for Socialist work than in the City of Brotherly Love. Philadelphia, with its hundred thousand textile workers on strike for a shorter work week, offers an opportunity that the local comrades have not been slow to take advantage of.

On Monday thousands of men, women, and children had gathered on the baseball ground at Klipp street and Ludlow avenue to hear Mother Jones. The rain began to fall and it was decided to hold the meeting in the Kensington Labor Lyceum. This was announced to the crowd and a rush was made for the hall. The streets and the railroad were soon thronged with strikers.

On Wednesday, early in the morning, the mill workers in all sections of the city assembled at the several headquarters and marched to Independence Hall, and from there to the North Plaza of the City Hall. No gaudy uniforms decked the textile paraders, the business houses displayed no bunting. The crowd that stood at the edge of the pavement looked on and sympathized. They knew that passing before them were men, women, and children engaged in a fight to save their lives from the greed of mercenary employers.

The sight of the tollers whom the bosses have threatened with starvation because they have asked for a shorter work week was not one to cause enthusiasm. The North Plaza of City Hall never saw such an assemblage as gathered there. When the parade reached this point all crowded around the speakers' stand to listen to Mother Jones. Isaac Cowen, the Socialist candidate for Governor of Ohio, opened the meeting.

On Monday afternoon Mother Jones addressed fully five thousand textile workers at their picnic in Central Park. The principal speakers at all these meetings have been Comrades Mother Jones, Cowen, Barnes, and Moore.

For this week meetings have been arranged for Tuesday at the Kensington Labor Lyceum; Wednesday afternoon at Twenty-fifth and Green streets; and in the evening at Mankynk; Thursday afternoon at Germantown and in the evening at Southwark.

P. H. S.

OUR PREVIEW IS VERIFIED.

The "Independent Labor League" Shows Its Hand as Scab Agency.

Organization Promoted by Ex-Cleryman, Patronized by New York "Sun," Ostensibly to Forward Conciliation and Technical Education, Now Opens to Break Machineists' Strike.

Two or three months ago The Worker gave an account of an organization known as the Independent Labor League of America, promoted by an Albany man calling himself Rev. E. M. Fairchild and especially patronized by the New York "Sun."

The Worker predicted that under its pretenses of working for conciliation between employer and employee, for better industrial education, and other apparently laudable purposes, it would ultimately be found that the essential purpose of this "non-union union" was to serve as a scab agency for the breaking of strikes.

This prediction was indignantly resented, Mr. Fairchild, to whom space was granted for a letter in these columns. The confirmation of our guess has come sooner than we could have expected.

The New York "Times" of June 22 contains the following news item: "OFFER TO REPLACE STRIKERS."

"Independent Labor League Would Provide Machineists in the Shipyards."

"Since the strike of the machineists in the shipyards for a minimum wage scale of \$3 a day started, offers have been made by the Independent Labor League of America to fill the places of the strikers. The league, which is an incorporated body, has its local headquarters at 39 Cortland street. Among its avowed objects are 'the doing away with strikes, boycotts, and blacklists, the protection of workmen in their independence, the obtaining of high wages and better conditions, and the bringing about of harmonious relations between employers and employees.'"

"The league has been in communication with the New York Metal Trades Association, which employs most of the shipyard machineists, but it was stated yesterday that the association had decided not to take all the men from the league. Secretary Hunter of the association says that its members are not in favor of blinding themselves to take all the men from one union."

Organized workmen have only need to be warned against this and similar societies formed with the approval of the instigation of employers for the purpose of "reforming" the labor movement. Workmen who are not yet affiliated with the unions but desirous of conducting themselves as honorable men may, however, profit by the present incident as a warning to steer clear of any such hybrid organizations, which in every case turn out, sooner or later, to be mere snares for misleading them and using them as tools of the capitalists against their brothers of the working class.

NEW YORK STATE.

Feldman and Rowser Start Out in the Automobile Within a Week—Help Them in Their Work.

State Secretary Rhoads announces that the automobile is about ready for operation. It is of French make and bears the noble name of De Dion-Bouton Motorcar, which it will discard for the still nobler name of Torch Bearer.

OUR VICTORY IN GERMANY.

Gains Are Greater Than at First Supposed.

Eight Hundred Thousand Added to the Social Democratic Vote—As Many Seats Won on First Ballot This Time as on Both Ballots in 1890—Misrepresentation in American Capitalist Press.

The official reports show that in the German Reichstag election held on Tuesday, June 16, the Social Democratic Party polled 2,111,317 votes—an increase of about 800,000, or about 25 per cent. over our vote at the last election in 1890.

We have elected 84 members of the new Reichstag on first ballot, in nearly half the districts of the Empire, a second ballot will be held on Thursday, June 23, to decide between the two leading candidates where no one had a clear majority on the first ballot.

The Social Democratic Party will participate in 121 of these second elections, having in so many districts won either first or second place without getting a majority over all.

In 1890 we elected 32 members on first vote, entered 92 second elections, and won in 24, giving us 56 members at the beginning of the last Reichstag. Two more seats were won during the life of the Reichstag, on special elections.

It is impossible to guess whether we shall do as well proportionately in the second balloting this year. If so, we should elect 30 members on Thursday, but it is quite possible that the closer coalition of capitalist parties may prevent our holding a large share.

The number of Social Democrats elected on Thursday will mark the increase of our representation in this Reichstag as compared with the beginning of the last one.

Thirty Years' Growth.

The following table shows the progress of the Social Democratic Party in the eleven Reichstag elections, beginning in 1871:

Year.	Popular Vote.	Members.
1871.....	124,953	2
1874.....	251,062	9
1877.....	403,238	12
1878.....	437,168	9
1881.....	511,941	12
1884.....	640,950	24
1887.....	738,128	11
1890.....	1,457,268	35
1893.....	1,570,798	34
1898.....	2,113,073	60

Explaining It Away.

The capitalist newspapers of the United States are showing a curiously unanimous eagerness to explain away the significance of the great increase of the Socialist vote in Germany. For the first few days they hesitated and seemed at a loss what to say, but by the end of the week they got together. It would almost seem as if a "tip" must have been sent out from Wall Street or from Washington to all the Republican and Democratic editorial writers of the land. From Boston to San Francisco they broke out simultaneously, explaining that the German Social Democrats are not really Socialists or Social Democrats at all, as those words are understood in this country, but are actually quite moderate "reformers."

The dear public should be on its guard against supposing that the same steady German people are really taking up any such wild vagaries as are advocated by the Socialists of America, who actually wish to do away with profit and class rule.

We are told that while the German Social Democrats used to be "wild visionaries," dreaming of a Co-operative Commonwealth, they have thrown Marx and Engels overboard now, but the essential ideas of Socialism on the shelf, and are merely fighting now for immediate partial reforms under the capitalist system.

The motive of this representation is obvious enough—to neutralize, if possible, the inspiration which this glorious advance is likely to give to the American division of the Socialists, and, incidentally, to tempt those of our people who are impatient for big gains at the polls to abandon the revolutionary and uncompromising attitude and devote themselves to petty reform programs.

The Facts in the Case.

It is not difficult to give the lie to these misrepresentations of the capitalist press. We grant, certainly, that our comrades have—and quite rightly—made campaign material out of the "hunger tariff," out of the enormous demands of the military and naval services, out of the abuses exposed in the army and in the colonial administrations, and out of the foolish speeches of the Kaiser.

But we know that it is for the first time in history that a clandestine journal has run such a number of editions. By the same party press "Gorki" ("The Miner"), the paper for the workers of mining districts, is published, together with occasional papers for different provincial towns. Freedom of speech being suppressed, the party expresses its opinion on every question of political or social importance by means of hundreds upon hundreds of handbills and leaflets issued by the secret press.

With time the "publishing department" was extended. In 1892 a clandestine journal in Yiddish was started to spread Socialism among the Jews, and teach them solidarity with the Polish proletariat. To this increase of publishing activity within the country corresponded the development of literature published abroad; in 1893, in addition to the monthly "Trudovik," appearing since 1881, was started the

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Local Kings..... 50.00
Cigar-makers' Union No. 145..... 2.00
Local Schenectady..... 2.00
"No more work for dear mother."
Lyndhurst comrades..... 2.00
A. L. Purdy..... 2.00
Total..... \$108.50

—Unionism without Socialism is like a defective steam boiler—liable to blow to pieces most any minute.—Erie People.

THE DUTY OF ACTIVE DISCONTENT.

The article here reproduced was written by our comrade, Miss Caroline H. Pemberton, and printed in the Philadelphia "North American" at the beginning of the textile strike.]

What is spectacle does Philadelphia present to the world? We see 100,000 men, women and children pitifully begging for a few hours to be taken off their working week of eleven hours per day—begging as a favor what should be their unquestioned right—the right to rest when they are weary from excessive toil! The newspapers commend the textile workers with a great show of patronizing condescension because they ask—most of them—for a shortening of hours and not for a higher wage. As if the asking for a tiny raise in wages were in itself a sign of degeneracy or a lack of virtue!

Those weavers and spinners who are willing to have their meagre wage reduced still further as payment for a few hours of rest from prolonged toil need to be reminded that their sacrifice is a very costly one to the race—they are simply building up a class of degenerates to drag down the average of American manhood and womanhood; they are simply making it harder for their children to obtain justice and their children's children to be anything but stunted dwarfs and degraded human beings.

That I devoutly wish..... But conscience doth make cowards of us all; And thus this beastly hue of revolution Sickles me o'er with a pale cast of thought—I see myself emigrating to America.

MICKEY DOOGAN.

THE KAISER'S SOLILOQUY.

To be or not to be, that is the question: Whether to dissolve the Reichstag and suffer The "miserables" to capture still more seats.

To omit me (oh, outrageous fortune!) Or to take arms against my sea of troubles And seek to end them? To kill; to slay Heads all; and by one sweep to say I end

The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks They've made me heir to, is a consummation That I devoutly wish..... But conscience doth make cowards of us all; And thus this beastly hue of revolution Sickles me o'er with a pale cast of thought—I see myself emigrating to America.

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SOCIALISM IN RUSSIAN POLAND.

Its Ten Years' Labor, Its Sufferings, Its Foes, and Its Achievements.

"There is in Poland one thing which the Russian government is afraid even more than of the dissatisfaction of the Catholic Church—that is Socialism." However curious it may seem, the comparison of "revolutionary qualities" of the international Catholic Church—what, by itself, never had in Poland any revolutionary tendencies—with international Socialism, yet in this opinion, expressed by Mr. George Brandes in the year 1896, we see that even seventeen years ago the political significance of Polish Socialism was evident to all observers of Polish life.

It was so seventeen years ago, when Socialism, as a popular movement, had just appeared in Poland, when there was no strong organized party consciously spreading the agitation and leading the movement. At last, in the year 1903, different Socialist groups united into one Polish Socialist Party. And since that time Polish Socialism, in which hitherto, in spite of its external revolutionary, economic tendencies predominated, acquires the features of the definite political movement. The new united party puts forward as its program the abolition of the Russian invasion and the establishment of the independent Polish Republic.

It is now ten years since the Polish Socialist Party was established, ten years of hard struggle in conditions unheard of in any of the countries of Western Europe. And the progress which has been made, notwithstanding that time, although perhaps not so brilliant as one would desire, proves that the future of Poland belongs to Socialism.

As there is in Russian Poland neither freedom of speech nor freedom of press, the propaganda of Socialism is confined to the formation of secret societies and to the distribution of Socialist literature. But as the propaganda by means of literature smuggled from abroad and not satisfying all the needs of the growing movement, the Polish Socialist Party started in 1894 the secretly printed journal "Robotnik" ("The Worker"). Those comrades who were engaged in organizing the secret press estimated that the clandestine press would stand the publication of ten or twelve issues of "Robotnik," and would then fall into the hands of the gendarmes. The reality has outgrown these expectations, as the journal went on appearing for years, and only in 1900 our "editorial offices and establishment" have been seized by the police. However, the seizure of this press has not interrupted the continuity of the publication; another press was immediately established and the publishing of "Robotnik" is going on all to-day and let us hope, will go on secretly up to the time when we shall be able to publish it quite openly.

Recently we printed the fiftieth issue of "Robotnik." Fifty issues of a journal in nine years! Such fact may seem entirely insignificant to those who are accustomed to read fresh Socialist journals every morning at breakfast table. But people acquainted with the secret press know that it is for the first time in history that a clandestine journal has run such a number of editions. By the same party press "Gorki" ("The Miner"), the paper for the workers of mining districts, is published, together with occasional papers for different provincial towns. Freedom of speech being suppressed, the party expresses its opinion on every question of political or social importance by means of hundreds upon hundreds of handbills and leaflets issued by the secret press.

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Local Schenectady..... 2.00
"No more work for dear mother."
Lyndhurst comrades..... 2.00
A. L. Purdy..... 2.00
Total..... \$108.50

—Unionism without Socialism is like a defective steam boiler—liable to blow to pieces most any minute.—Erie People.

THE DUTY OF ACTIVE DISCONTENT.

The article here reproduced was written by our comrade, Miss Caroline H. Pemberton, and printed in the Philadelphia "North American" at the beginning of the textile strike.]

What is spectacle does Philadelphia present to the world? We see 100,000 men, women and children pitifully begging for a few hours to be taken off their working week of eleven hours per day—begging as a favor what should be their unquestioned right—the right to rest when they are weary from excessive toil! The newspapers commend the textile workers with a great show of patronizing condescension because they ask—most of them—for a shortening of hours and not for a higher wage. As if the asking for a tiny raise in wages were in itself a sign of degeneracy or a lack of virtue!

Those weavers and spinners who are willing to have their meagre wage reduced still further as payment for a few hours of rest from prolonged toil need to be reminded that their sacrifice is a very costly one to the race—they are simply building up a class of degenerates to drag down the average of American manhood and womanhood; they are simply making it harder for their children to obtain justice and their children's children to be anything but stunted dwarfs and degraded human beings.

That I devoutly wish..... But conscience doth make cowards of us all; And thus this beastly hue of revolution Sickles me o'er with a pale cast of thought—I see myself emigrating to America.

MICKEY DOOGAN.

THE KAISER'S SOLILOQUY.

To be or not to be, that is the question: Whether to dissolve the Reichstag and suffer The "miserables" to capture still more seats.

To omit me (oh, outrageous fortune!) Or to take arms against my sea of troubles And seek to end them? To kill; to slay Heads all; and by one sweep to say I end

The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks They've made me heir to, is a consummation That I devoutly wish..... But conscience doth make cowards of us all; And thus this beastly hue of revolution Sickles me o'er with a pale cast of thought—I see myself emigrating to America.

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SOCIALISM IN RUSSIAN POLAND.

Its Ten Years' Labor, Its Sufferings, Its Foes, and Its Achievements.

"There is in Poland one thing which the Russian government is afraid even more than of the dissatisfaction of the Catholic Church—that is Socialism." However curious it may seem, the comparison of "revolutionary qualities" of the international Catholic Church—what, by itself, never had in Poland any revolutionary tendencies—with international Socialism, yet in this opinion, expressed by Mr. George Brandes in the year 1896, we see that even seventeen years ago the political significance of Polish Socialism was evident to all observers of Polish life.

It was so seventeen years ago, when Socialism, as a popular movement, had just appeared in Poland, when there was no strong organized party consciously spreading the agitation and leading the movement. At last, in the year 1903, different Socialist groups united into one Polish Socialist Party. And since that time Polish Socialism, in which hitherto, in spite of its external revolutionary, economic tendencies predominated, acquires the features of the definite political movement. The new united party puts forward as its program the abolition of the Russian invasion and the establishment of the independent Polish Republic.

It is now ten years since the Polish Socialist Party was established, ten years of hard struggle in conditions unheard of in any of the countries of Western Europe. And the progress which has been made, notwithstanding that time, although perhaps not so brilliant as one would desire, proves that the future of Poland belongs to Socialism.

As there is in Russian Poland neither freedom of speech nor freedom of press, the propaganda of Socialism is confined to the formation of secret societies and to the distribution of Socialist literature. But as the propaganda by means of literature smuggled from abroad and not satisfying all the needs of the growing movement, the Polish Socialist Party started in 1894 the secretly printed journal "Robotnik" ("The Worker"). Those comrades who were engaged in organizing the secret press estimated that the clandestine press would stand the publication of ten or twelve issues of "Robotnik," and would then fall into the hands of the gendarmes. The reality has outgrown these expectations, as the journal went on appearing for years, and only in 1900 our "editorial offices and establishment" have been seized by the police. However, the seizure of this press has not interrupted the continuity of the publication; another press was immediately established and the publishing of "Robotnik" is going on all to-day and let us hope, will go on secretly up to the time when we shall be able to publish it quite openly.

Recently we printed the fiftieth issue of "Robotnik." Fifty issues of a journal in nine years! Such fact may seem entirely insignificant to those who are accustomed to read fresh Socialist journals every morning at breakfast table. But people acquainted with the secret press know that it is for the first time in history that a clandestine journal has run such a number of editions. By the same party press "Gorki" ("The Miner"), the paper for the workers of mining districts, is published, together with occasional papers for different provincial towns. Freedom of speech being suppressed, the party expresses its opinion on every question of political or social importance by means of hundreds upon hundreds of handbills and leaflets issued by the secret press.

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VOL. XIII.—NO. 14.

NEW YORK, JULY 5, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

GRAND MASS MEETING IN COOPER UNION

To Celebrate Socialist Victories in Germany and Open the New York Campaign.

On Friday, July 3, the Eve of Independence Day, a Brilliant Array of Social Democratic Orators Will Speak for International Solidarity and Industrial Freedom.

On Friday evening of this week, the eve of Independence Day, the Social Democrats of New York City will hold a grand mass meeting in Cooper Union to celebrate the splendid progress made by our comrades in Germany toward the achievement of the International emancipation of the working class from the rule of capitalism.

The list of speakers who will speak of Socialism in Germany and Socialism in the United States and the meaning of the German elections for us in New York is truly representative of the character of our movement. It includes John W. Haydon, union carpenter and Socialist Councilman of New Castle, Pa.; Benjamin Hanford, union printer and standard bearer of the Social Democratic Party in last fall's splendid campaign in this state; Morris Hillquit and John Spargo of New York and Dr. C. L. Furman of Brooklyn, all well known to the working class of the city; and Dr. Howard A. Gibbs of Worcester, Mass., one of the stalwart fighters for economic freedom in New England. Alexander Jones the well-known veteran, will speak in German. It is hoped also that George D. Herron, who has been in Europe for some months, will reach the city in time to address this meeting and bring us the greetings of our comrades on the other side of the water.

If necessary, open-air overflow meetings will be arranged.
It is right and proper that the workmen of the United States should join with their brothers overseas in rejoicing over the great progress made there, just as the workmen of Germany will look eagerly for news of our election in November and heartily rejoice in the good news of the growth of Socialism that we are going to send them.

We Share the Victory.

The day of national exclusiveness is past. The working classes in all lands recognize their common interests and their common danger. The industrial despotism is essentially the same, whether under the form of republic in America or in France, of constitutional monarchy in Britain or in Germany, or of autocracy in Russia. Morgan and Rockefeller and the Rothschilds, the powers behind the throne, and the Kings and Kaisers and Tsars that govern at their will, all recognize to-day that, whatever minor quarrels they may have over the division of the spoils of the world's industry, they are all threatened alike by the revolt of the thinking workers of the world.

It is no longer, as in ages past, a question of nation against nation. This is the direct interest of internationalism. The one real issue is that of class against class, that of the ruled and exploited and oppressed working class of all lands against the rulers and exploiters and oppressors of all lands.
Every means at the disposal of the ruling class in Germany has been used, during the five years since the last general elections, to discredit, to divide, to mislead or in any way to injure the Social Democratic Party. The personal influence of the Kaiser and of the whole official and "nobel" body, the influence of the churches with few exceptions, the influence of all the press except the papers owned and controlled by the organized workmen, the influence of the schools and universities so far as it is there possible for them to be so perverted, as well as the direct influence of the capitalists themselves, great and small, has all been directed to an open or a secret attack upon the Social Democratic movement of the working class.

The Socialists of every country, the progressive and thoughtful workmen of the whole world, have looked forward to the German general elections, now just completed, with hopeful interest, as the capitalists of all countries have awaited them with apprehension. The election days have come and gone. Our hopes have been more than fulfilled, the apprehensions of our masters have been more than realized, and now, while they are busily trying to explain away their defeat, it is fitting that we should unite in a demonstration for the international solidarity of labor, its growing strength and assurance of speedy triumph.

Gain 900,000.

In 1896 the Social Democratic Party in the German Empire cast 2,113,000 votes. On June 16 of the present year, according to the latest official reports, we marched to the polls and registered our numerical strength at 3,008,000. NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND SOLDIERS ADDED TO THE VOTING ARMY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT—nine hundred thousand additional votes, not against the foolish Kaiser alone, not against militarism and bureaucracy and clericalism alone, but against the whole system of economic autocracy, of capitalist class rule, that maintains arrogant officialdom, that foments wars and persecutes armies and navies, that perpetuates ignorance and prejudice—against the whole capitalist system, with all the evils that it implies.

These are nine hundred thousand added votes for freedom in the United States and for freedom in Russia, for freedom in the Philippines and for freedom in South Africa, as well as for the freedom of the German working class.

According to the German system, a

district with clear majorities on first ballot, and four more on the second ballot, leaving but one solitary opponent of Socialism in the Saxon delegation.

The capital of the Empire also gave us splendid gains. Five years ago we cast 155,000 votes in Berlin, carrying two of the six districts on first ballot and two on second. This year we raised our vote to 220,000, carried five districts on first ballot, and lost the other on second ballot by a margin of only a few hundred votes, with all other parties united against us.

The Lying American Press.

The American capitalist press recognized the world-wide significance of this election. The old-party papers, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are publishing made-to-order editorials to explain it away. The Republican papers say the German Socialists are not dangerous fellows, like the Socialists of the United States, but are really very like the liberal Republican. The Democratic papers say the German Socialists are not dangerous fellows like the Socialists of the United States, but are really very like the liberal Democratic. That they should unite in such misrepresentation sufficiently shows the interest American workmen should have in the Socialist movement of the world.

The fact is that the Social Democratic Party of Germany stands on exactly the same basis as the Socialist Party of the United States, called in New York the Social Democratic Party.

It takes advantage, certainly, of every issue that arises. It makes campaign material out of the "hunger tariff," out of the enormous demands of the military and naval services, out of the abuses exposed in the army and in the colonial administrations, and out of the foolish speeches of the Kaiser. But on these and on every other question that arises it takes the strictly revolutionary and uncompromising Socialist position. It can afford to take up all these questions, just because it stands on a firm and consistent basis of fundamental principles. The mere reformer often has to dodge issues, because he goes only on a basis of expediency. The Socialist who treats every question in the light of Socialist principles, need fear no issue. Such is the attitude of our German comrades and they have won by it, just because they are not the compromisers and expediency politicians that the American press pretends them to be.

In the principal manifesto issued in the late campaign, the purpose of the Social Democratic Party of Germany is set forth in these plain words: "Our aim is the establishment of the Socialist state and social order based upon collective ownership of the means of production and the duty of all to labor—the establishment of a political and social condition in which truth, justice, equality, and the common welfare shall be the sure rule of conduct for all."

That should be plain enough for even the editor of the New York "Sun" to understand.
WORKMEN OF NEW YORK CITY, TURN OUT FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 3, AND PACK COOPER UNION TO THE DOORS. SHOW THE VENAL PRESS THAT YOU CAN AND WILL THINK FOR YOURSELVES. MAKE THIS THE OPENING NIGHT OF NEW YORK'S MOST EAGLEST AND ENTHUSIASTIC SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN. PREPARE TO ANSWER THE CAPITALIST MINLEADERS AT THE BALLOT-BOX.

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The employers have come to realize this and have felt that, in the words of President Edlitz, "there was never a time in the history of the building business when conditions were as favorable for a united move as they are at present," they have felt that it was necessary to strike now and strike together a decisive blow against these workmen who are so insolent as to demand a voice in determining the conditions under which they shall work and in limiting the rate of exploitation to which they will submit.

In a "world" under whatever sweet words and pretenses of moderation they may disguise it, the purpose of the Employers' Association is to emasculate the unions of the building trades, TO RENDER THEM HARMLESS TO THE CAPITALISTS AND UNWELLS TO THE WORKING CLASS.

"Divide and Conquer."
It is the purpose of the employers completely to sever the organizations of the "skilled mechanics" from those of the "common laborers." This is but a part of a general plan to create divisions and dissensions and foster prejudices and jealousies within the ranks of their employees, so that they may in future play off one union against another, one leader against another, one grade of workmen against another, and make each in turn the ally of the bosses against their brother toilers.

When the employers, who have so often in time past declared "There is

nothing to arbitrate," when they who have so often declared against the sympathetic strike and boycott as injurious to the "innocent general public" and "contrary to the spirit of American institutions"—when they lock out a hundred and thirty thousand workmen and do it in the name of arbitration, we are reminded of the Russian Tsar, red with the blood of cowardly and ruthless domestic crimes, profaning the name of Christ with a hypocritical plea for "universal peace" and then making that plea the mask for yet more shameful aggressions abroad and yet more bloody tyranny at home.

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The Real Questions at Issue in the Struggle Between the Associated Employers and the Organized Workingmen.

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Why? Is it because they are lazy, because they are unwilling to work? No. Is it because they feel that they have earned a vacation and can afford to enjoy it? No. They have earned a vacation, indeed, but they cannot well afford to take it. Pleasant vacations are not for them, but for those who do no work or work of the least useful sort. These hundred and thirty thousand men would like to be back at work, even in the broiling sun of July, framing stippers, handling iron beams, laying stone and brick, doing all the hard and dangerous work that is necessary for the housing of a great population.

Why are they idle, then? Is it because we have enough homes, enough schoolhouses, enough buildings in which to carry on industry and business? No. Most pressing and necessary work is waiting, half-erected buildings rapidly deteriorating because of the delay.

We need the buildings. One hundred and thirty thousand men who know their trades well are willing to erect them. Work is at a standstill BECAUSE A FEW HUNDRED MEN WHO ARE NOT USEFUL WORKERS, BUT WHO HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO CONTROL THE INDUSTRY, HAVE CHOSEN TO BAND THEMSELVES TOGETHER AND PUT THEIR DESIRE FOR PROFIT ABOVE ALL OTHER SOCIAL INTERESTS.

Whatever may be said in criticism of the unions of the building trades, whatever mistakes they may have made or may now be making—and, doubtless they make their share of blunders—the one fact overshadows all others in this great LOCKOUT—perhaps the largest and most disastrous labor dispute that has ever occurred in this city—the interests of those who are willing to work, whether directly concerned in this industry or in others, are being insolently disregarded and wantonly outraged by an organization of those who live by the sweat of other men's brows.

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We do not know whether the charges made against some of the Business Agents of the unions are true or false. We may suppose that there are some rascals in the ranks of these unions. IT WOULD BE A WONDER IF SOME OF THEM DID NOT IMITATE THE EXAMPLE OF HYPERBOLIC DISHONESTY CONSTANTLY SET THEM BY THEIR RESPECTABLE EMPLOYERS.

THE NEW YORK BUILDING TRADES LOCKOUT.

The Real Questions at Issue in the Struggle Between the Associated Employers and the Organized Workingmen.

The Complete Emasculation of the Unions Is the End Aimed at by the Lockout Bosses—A Battle that Must Be Fought to a Finish, and Better Now than Later—Workingmen, Use Your Political Power!

One hundred and thirty thousand workmen of the building trades in New York City are standing idle.

Why? Is it because they are lazy, because they are unwilling to work? No. Is it because they feel that they have earned a vacation and can afford to enjoy it? No. They have earned a vacation, indeed, but they cannot well afford to take it. Pleasant vacations are not for them, but for those who do no work or work of the least useful sort. These hundred and thirty thousand men would like to be back at work, even in the broiling sun of July, framing stippers, handling iron beams, laying stone and brick, doing all the hard and dangerous work that is necessary for the housing of a great population.

Why are they idle, then? Is it because we have enough homes, enough schoolhouses, enough buildings in which to carry on industry and business? No. Most pressing and necessary work is waiting, half-erected buildings rapidly deteriorating because of the delay.

We need the buildings. One hundred and thirty thousand men who know their trades well are willing to erect them. Work is at a standstill BECAUSE A FEW HUNDRED MEN WHO ARE NOT USEFUL WORKERS, BUT WHO HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO CONTROL THE INDUSTRY, HAVE CHOSEN TO BAND THEMSELVES TOGETHER AND PUT THEIR DESIRE FOR PROFIT ABOVE ALL OTHER SOCIAL INTERESTS.

Whatever may be said in criticism of the unions of the building trades, whatever mistakes they may have made or may now be making—and, doubtless they make their share of blunders—the one fact overshadows all others in this great LOCKOUT—perhaps the largest and most disastrous labor dispute that has ever occurred in this city—the interests of those who are willing to work, whether directly concerned in this industry or in others, are being insolently disregarded and wantonly outraged by an organization of those who live by the sweat of other men's brows.

The purpose of the Building Trades Employers' Association is plain to every man who knows anything of the real world of industry, to every man who does not take all his ideas from the employers' spokesmen.

The workmen of the building trades have learned to organize and act together very effectively. They have yet much to learn, but they have succeeded at least in offering powerful resistance to the aggressions of the hitherto imperfectly organized capitalists, in materially improving their own conditions and getting a considerably larger share of the product of their own labor, and in encouraging the workmen of other industries to similar organized action.

The employers have come to realize this and have felt that, in the words of President Edlitz, "there was never a time in the history of the building business when conditions were as favorable for a united move as they are at present," they have felt that it was necessary to strike now and strike together a decisive blow against these workmen who are so insolent as to demand a voice in determining the conditions under which they shall work and in limiting the rate of exploitation to which they will submit.

In a "world" under whatever sweet words and pretenses of moderation they may disguise it, the purpose of the Employers' Association is to emasculate the unions of the building trades, TO RENDER THEM HARMLESS TO THE CAPITALISTS AND UNWELLS TO THE WORKING CLASS.

"Divide and Conquer."
It is the purpose of the employers completely to sever the organizations of the "skilled mechanics" from those of the "common laborers." This is but a part of a general plan to create divisions and dissensions and foster prejudices and jealousies within the ranks of their employees, so that they may in future play off one union against another, one leader against another, one grade of workmen against another, and make each in turn the ally of the bosses against their brother toilers.

When the employers, who have so often in time past declared "There is

nothing to arbitrate," when they who have so often declared against the sympathetic strike and boycott as injurious to the "innocent general public" and "contrary to the spirit of American institutions"—when they lock out a hundred and thirty thousand workmen and do it in the name of arbitration, we are reminded of the Russian Tsar, red with the blood of cowardly and ruthless domestic crimes, profaning the name of Christ with a hypocritical plea for "universal peace" and then making that plea the mask for yet more shameful aggressions abroad and yet more bloody tyranny at home.

When the building trades employers have thoroughly beaten and disorganized their employees—if they can do that—when they feel secure in their united power and the division and defeat of the workmen, then and then only will they be willing to arbitrate—TO ARBITRATE AT THEIR OWN TERMS.

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CITY CONVENTION.

New York Social Democrats Will Celebrate the Fourth.

Independence Day Will Be Observed at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum by Nominating Political Representatives of Working Class Interests.

The Social Democrats of New York City will appropriately observe the Fourth of July by holding their city convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of Mayor, Controller, and President of the Board of Aldermen, to stand as representatives of the interests of the working class in the coming municipal campaign against all the representatives of capitalist interests, under whatever name.

Official notice of the convention has already been given in the following terms:

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

By A. A. Lewis.

The Socialist Party is a world-wide party. Its principles are the same in every country. Those principles, when rightly understood, will attract every person who believes in liberty and progress. The chief object of the Socialist Party is to get the entire working class throughout the world to unite and take control of the power of government by means of the ballot and free themselves from the bondage of wage-slavery. The working class must educate themselves. No other class will give them full freedom, because it is not to the immediate interest of any other class to get entirely out of the back of labor. In every civilized country the Socialist Party is organized and doing active work for the liberty of the working class. This is why the Socialist Party is growing at such a tremendous rate.

The working class in this country still have political freedom, but they must use it wisely. The political freedom before them is not their political freedom. Men cannot long retain their political freedom when they do not have industrial freedom.

The working class are beginning to see that the conditions which compel them to go to the owners of vast industries and beg for the privilege of working in these industries are not the conditions which they desire. They are beginning to see that the conditions which compel them to go to the owners of vast industries and beg for the privilege of working in these industries are not the conditions which they desire.

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PHONIC AND SUMMER FESTIVAL TO BE HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE Social Democratic Party and Volkszeitungs Konferenz of N. Y. City
ON SUNDAY, JULY 10, 1903, 10 A. M.,
SULZER'S WESTCHESTER PARK (Borough of Bronx.)
PRIZE BOWLING, GAMES, AMUSEMENTS, MUSIC AND DANCING.
ADMISSION, TEN CENTS.
DIRECTIONS: TO THE PARK—Take West Farms or Southern Boulevard Trolley Car at 125th St. and 84 Ave. which goes direct to the Park; also 135th St. and 84 Ave. Trolley Cars and transfer to West Farms Car; also from City Hall or South Ferry "L" road to 177th St. and Third (Tremont) Ave. and then with Trolley Car to Park.

a forceful presentation of our program. Twenty-three new members and a complete reversal of the public sentiment in regard to Socialism was the result of the Bangor debate.

Ellsworth was another town where the results of Comrade White's work were immediate and unique. Ellsworth was formerly a Populist stronghold and a highly prosperous town, but the town fell out of business some years ago and the town today reminds one of Goldsmith's deserted village. Most of the men work in other nearby towns and are only in the city nights and Sundays.

Comrade White spoke in the Public Square to a good audience and aroused so much interest in Socialism that the writer understands a committee of citizens has been appointed to visit Comrade Carey (who is "summering nearby") and invite him to speak. Ellsworth is the most interesting place yet mentioned in the City Hall for charge for the occasion.

As you may judge from what is written, the comrades along the line are highly pleased with Comrade White's work while with us, and they have abundant reason to feel as they do, for he is as nearly the ideal pioneer speaker and organizer as it is possible for poor humanity to attain. Thoroughly in earnest, gifted by nature with a magnetic personality and a strong, resolute voice, which can be heard above and beyond the wildest storm of prejudice that ever hurried its setting waves of jargon and blarney around the soap-box of the agitator; erect, calm, dignified and perfectly at home with his subject, six feet of magnificent American manhood, this is Dan White, as we see him here in Maine.

IN PENNSYLVANIA.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa., June 28.—At the regular meeting of the State Committee held on this date Comrade W. W. Bihl was in the chair. Charters were granted to Adams, Williamsport, Lycoming County, and Chester, Delaware County. Communications were read from the following: Duquesne, Williamsport, Brownsville, Jeannette, Shamokin, Pottsville, Millville, Wilkes-Barre, and Reading.

Resolutions were adopted: That Allegheny County is beginning to get a move on and will soon take "big" strides in the front rank of the contest. Williamsport has opened headquarters in the central part of the city and will keep it open every evening. Williamsport reports that there will be something doing in that neck of the woods before many moons. Millville has taken in five new members this month and in the near future. The Luzerne County convention will be held in Central Luzerne, Union Hall, 16 South Main street, Wilkes-Barre, on Saturday afternoon, July 4, at 1:30 o'clock. A full ticket will be nominated, officers elected and other party business transacted. Shamokin reports that the Northumberland County convention will be held July 12 to nominate candidates for the fall election. Berks County convention was held in Reading and a full ticket nominated.

On Thursday, June 25, Erie held its county convention and nominated candidates. The two following resolutions were unanimously adopted: "Resolved, That we testify our appreciation of the splendid record made by our State Committee in the last general election, and exhort all comrades to renewed effort to maintain the high position attained, or to advance it. The individual and concerted action of every wage-worker, every loyal citizen, every man and woman, is invoked, that the great Socialist movement may experience not even a temporary setback or suspension. The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

"Resolved, That we appreciate the propaganda work our official organ, 'The People', is accomplishing, and urge that Socialists do all in their power to extend its circulation and influence."

The Philadelphia "North American" of June 27 says: "The Socialist vote will make the outcome of the election in Carbon County uncertain. Last year the Socialists polled more than 1,000 ballots, and at the Spring election they captured offices in Langford, Keeshoning and Summit Hill. They are organizing 'right along' and since February have formed eleven new clubs."

The Philadelphia comrades are holding meetings nightly among the striking textile workers. Mother Jones is still in Philadelphia, holding meetings in the city and in the suburbs. It is expected Comrade John Spargo of New York will spend a week here under the auspices of the National Committee. The 2nd Ward Branch of Local Philadelphia has promised to contribute \$1 per month to help pay off the State Committee's indebtedness.

The Socialist Party, in conjunction with the United Workmen's Singing Society, will give a grand excursion to French Creek and hold a reunion at Summit Hill. Locals in the vicinity are invited to attend and make the occasion one long to be remembered. The proceeds from the sale of tickets will be used to defray the indebtedness of the State Committee.

THE CAPITALIST POLITICIAN.
"Now that you are one of them, tell me a Socialist's life!"

"A politician is a fellow that promises something he can't do to get elected and does something he promised not to do to hold his job."—Life.

The Arm and Torch is the emblem of Socialism on the official ballot in New York.

HE WASN'T THE AUTHOR.

Editor of The Worker:—The "Social Democratic Herald" of June 6 contains the following insult to me: "Since the national referendum let him out as a member of the Local Quorum, Comrade Untermyer of the 'Appeal to Reason' has discovered that a Local Quorum is not needed after all. Little by little we are getting 'Untermyer's measure.' I beg that you will publish my answer to this insult, in justice to me."

"Editor 'Social Democratic Herald':—In your issue of June 6, page 3, you publish a gratuitous fling at me regarding the question of the national Quorum. I can assure you that I am not the author of the statement in the 'Appeal' which forms the basis for this fling, and that the incriminating remark was written and published in the 'Social Democratic Herald' without ascertaining who was the author of that statement. I request that the author of the fling be made responsible for its publication, publicly retract."

Yours fraternally,

ERNEST UNTERMYER.

ANOTHER RULING ON STATE AUTONOMY.

The National Secretary reports the vote of the National Committee on the following motion offered by Critchlow of Ohio and submitted on June 1: "That the National Secretary be hereby instructed to recognize resolutions presented to him only when coming from the Socialist locals in good standing in unorganized states and state organizations in good standing in the organized states."

The motion is defeated by a vote of 9 to 4, as follows: In favor—Richardson, Critchlow, Berger, and Untermyer. Against—Mahoney, Work, Carey, Giffin, Gorbil, Hallbrook, Barnes, Bloomer, and Roe. Not voting—La Kamp, Henley, Miller, Berlyn, Dubois, Mills, Fox (Mr.), Christenson, Hillquit, Massey, and Lovett.

The purpose of the motion was to prevent locals in organized states from going directly to the national headquarters over the heads of their state committees. The general opinion seemed to be that, while locals in organized states should, under all ordinary circumstances, carry on their correspondence through their state committees, yet, as a safeguard against possible usurpation or suppression by state committees, it is better not to cut off the direct communication. It will be observed that several of the National Committee members who stand strongly for state autonomy, nevertheless vote against this proposition. We are evidently coming to a mutual understanding as to what state autonomy does and does not mean.

SPECIAL NATIONAL ORGANIZING FUND.

National Secretary Malloy acknowledges the receipt of the following contributions to the Special National Organizing Fund: \$2: Branch, Local Seattle, Wash.; \$2: Geo. H. Turner, Kansas City; \$2: Ernest Untermyer, Girard, Kan.; \$2: Samuel Lovett, Aberdeen, S. D.; \$2: John M. Work, Des Moines, Ia.; \$2: H. T. Smith, New York; \$1: Local San Antonio, Tex. (monthly contribution); \$2: Local Wakefield, Mass.; \$2: John Sturkey, Macon, Ga.; \$1: Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.; \$2: Edw. Kirby, Fairmount, W. Va.; \$2: Bohemian Branch, 24th St., New York; \$5: Local Moline, Ill.; \$2: A. Heller, New York; \$10: Branch G. Local Des Moines, Ia.; \$2: Local Indianapolis; \$3.84: Local Kingston, N. Y.; \$5: John M. Ray, Nashville, Tenn.; \$5: Local Cheyenne, Wyo.; \$1: total for week ending at noon, June 27, \$53.84; previously reported, \$24.06; total to date, \$77.90.

This is an improvement on last week's list. Let us hope next week's will be still better.

New York, whose neglect of this fund The Worker noted last week, shows up very well this time. The state ought to be reported every time.

The other established organizations can well afford to spare a little money every week to help the national organizing in newer fields.

Local Cheyenne has resolved to give a dollar a month for a year, and begins this week.

THE NEW DOWN TOWN.
YOUNG PEOPLE'S CLUB.

The Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club was successfully organized at the Labor Lyceum last Saturday evening. There was a good attendance, including delegations from the Yorkville and Brooklyn clubs. Edward Meyer presided and Algonero Lee, Rod Fieldman, John Lentz, and Max Feigl, the two latter as representatives of the other clubs, spoke on the purposes and prospects of the organization. Miss Lulu Grabl and Miss Norma Sauter contributed much to the enjoyment of the evening with piano and violin solos.

The club was organized with twenty members and several more expressed their intention to join at the next meeting which will be held in the Labor Lyceum on Tuesday evening, July 7.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF NEW YORK IS IDENTICAL WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF OTHER STATES. The difference of name is due to requirements of the election law. Our emblem is the Arm and Torch.

GRAND LABOR FESTIVAL
of Local Eastern County Socialist Party.
Sunday, August 30th, at
HARRIS HILL, SCHUYLKILL-PARK.

THE NEW DOWN TOWN.
YOUNG PEOPLE'S CLUB.

The Down Town Young People's Social Democratic Club was successfully organized at the Labor Lyceum last Saturday evening. There was a good attendance, including deleg

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.

The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.

No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

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Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.—NO. 15.

NEW YORK, JULY 12, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

HEARST'S "NATURAL ALLY" COMES TARDILY TO HIS AID.

"Labor Friend" Gets "Labor Leader" to Explain Away His Lie about Chase.

"American" Reporter Deposes, and Says that, Though Chase Did Not Make Speech "American" Reported, He Did Whisper in Reporter's Ear His Intention to Do So—Stalinias Says Chase Played Mean Trick on Little Willie—Old Slouth Theory to Vindicate Hearst Taken Up by Haverhill Republicans and by DeLeon.

Once more the peculiar methods by which William Randolph Hearst is working up his presidential boom call for exposure and comment.

Early in the present year Ex-Mayor John C. Chase of Haverhill, in the course of a speaking tour in the South under the direction of the National Committee of the Socialist Party, addressed a meeting in the Building Trades Council Hall at Norfolk, Va.

An old occasion Chase Chase talked straight Socialism. Explaining the position of the proprietors of newspapers as a subject, and exploited class, demonstrating the conflict between their interests and those of the possessing and employing class, showing how this conflict of interests constantly results in strikes and lockouts, he held that the only final settlement of this conflict was to be found in the collective ownership of the means of production, to be secured by independent political action of the working class, and advocated the support of the Socialist Party as the only party embodying these principles.

The local papers gave correct though inadequate reports of his address.

The "American" Lie.

At a distance of some hundreds of miles, however, and knowing that as yet there was no strong and trained Socialist movement in the South, but that such a movement was beginning to grow and to threaten the Democratic party in its very stronghold—under these circumstances, Presidential Aspirant Hearst, or whoever may have been acting for him in charge of the New York "American" and "Journal," thought it safe and profitable to publish an alleged dispatch from Norfolk, representing Chase as having said, in the course of his address: "The best friend of Labor in this country today is the New York 'American' and 'Journal'." This paper, through its proprietor, W. H. Hearst, has fought the cause of the laboring man with untiring energy and the title of "the people's champion" has been well earned by that unselfish American. His fortune has not been made by greed and he pays his employees according to their work.

The Worker, confident that this report was utterly unfounded, brought it to the attention of Comrade Chase and asked him for a statement. He replied in the following words:

Chase's Denial.

"This entire matter, Mr. Editor, is a bare-faced lie from start to finish. I not only did not say what the 'Journal' and 'American' claim, but I did not even mention Mr. Hearst or his paper. If I had, it would have been for the purpose of branding him as the most unscrupulous liar and faker in America. Certainly it is true that he is the most unscrupulous liar in politics today, if he will thus deliberately report a man as boasting him and his papers who is unalterably opposed to him and his politics.

"At the meeting mentioned I talked Socialism from start to finish and at the close of the meeting organized a local of the Socialist Party, and there was not the shadow of an excuse for quoting me as Mr. Hearst did. It is but a part of the game that Mr. Hearst is playing to capture the working class and corral them into the Democratic party, in support of himself. I hope you will give this statement the fullest publicity.

"Simultaneously, Comrade Chase mailed to the editor of the New York 'American' and 'Journal' a terse point-blank denial of having uttered the words attributed to him, requesting that it be printed in the columns of that paper.

Did Hearst Retract? Not He.

What did Editor Hearst then do? Did he print Chase's letter of denial? Did he even print three lines to state that such a denial had reached him? Did he do anything that an honorable editor would have done to set right a political opponent he had misrepresented?

He did not. It is not the policy of the "American" to print the errors of its misrepresentations. The "American" prints many "letters" to the editor, genuine or fictitious. But it prints only the flattering ones. No, Hearst did not retract. He did nothing for a long time. He ignored the matter completely, counting on his large circulation to spread the lie more widely than the Worker could spread the denial. He remained silent until he found that the Socialist and trade union press all over the country was exposing him and putting him in the pillory. Then he acted. And how?

As his organ for clutching the first falsehood with a second he did not choose one of his own papers. To do that would be to acknowledge the previous suppression of Chase's denial. No, Mr. Hearst remembered his principle that "Labor is Democracy's natural ally," which, being interpreted, means that every would-be labor leader who can be corrupted is Candidate-Hearst's natural ally.

His "Natural Ally."

The organ which Mr. Hearst chooses is an alleged labor paper known as the "Labor Compendium," published in St. Louis by one Steinblais, whose reputation as a disreputable and misleader in the trade-union movement is as striking as it is unenviable.

Some months after Hearst received Chase's letter of denial, this "Natural

ally" remarkable paper in New York City, the "People," whose consistent policy it is to repeat Republican lies, repeat Democratic lies, repeat Economic League lies, repeat any old lies, on the chance that some of them may take root in some credulous minds and do some hurt to the Socialist Party or to the trade unions.

What with Parry, Hearst, Matton, DeLeon, Gompers, and the numerous "cheap" "natural allies" or malicious renegades from Steinblais down to Howie, who sneeze when they take snuff, we should have little time for aught else if we undertook even briefly to notice all their tricks and falsifications. We do not try it. Now and then we take the trouble to expose egregious fakes such as this Hearst-Stalinias one. For the rest, we may take the Douglas motto: "They say—'What say they? Let them say!'"

The "multiplication of falsehoods against Socialism is an acknowledgment of its growing strength and the growing alarm of its enemies. And the more loudly they malign us, the more people will think and find out the truth for themselves. Two or three thousand thousand men have heard Comrade Chase speak within the last two years. This disgraceful attack upon him will have but one effect on them, and that a good one—to make them reflect the more carefully on what they heard Chase say and to make them distrust capitalist editor-policemen, especially 'friends of labor' such as Hearst and friends of the friends of labor such as his Natural Ally in St. Louis. So come again, Hearst, Hearst, Steinblais, Howie, DeLeon & Co.

What Moore Swears To.

And to what does Mr. Moore swear? That his report of Chase's speech was correct? No. And why not? Because there are too many honest men in Norfolk to believe in the speech of a man who has been so thoroughly exposed. And know that the report was absolutely false.

No. Reporter Moore now swears that in private conversation with him, before the meeting, Chase told him that he was going to say on the platform something like (not identical with) what Moore then proceeded to report him to the "American" and "Journal" as actually saying—if, indeed, Moore reported at all. If the "dispatch" was written in the editorial office, if Moore is not a mere hired newspaper for the "twentieth century newspaper."

An "Old Slouth" Theory.

Mr. Hearst's Natural Ally in St. Louis has a subtle theory to reconcile Moore's affidavit with the Hearst report. This is the theory. Chase intended all along to make a straight Socialist speech; but he wanted to get Hearst into a scrape; so he got into private conversation with Moore and told Moore he was going to boom Hearst, foreseeing that Moore would hurry off and telegraph a false report of the speech, before even the speech was made, and, in the words of the Natural Ally, thus "deliberately tricked" the correspondent, for the purpose of creating timber for editors of Socialist papers.

Oh, wicked, cunning, guileful, Machiavellian Chase! Oh, innocent, truthful, but all too hasty reporter! Oh, unfortunate Presidential Aspirant, so tricked and befuddled! Oh, hapless Steinblais, possessed of the talent of a Conan Doyle or an Old Slouth, and in the humble role of a Natural Ally!

"The times are out of joint. Oh, cursed spite, 'That Steinblais e'er was born to set them right!'"

Another Tale of Woe.

Steinblais has another tale of woe. He pitifully recounts how The Worker, a couple of years ago, made an agreement to exchange advertisements with the "Labor Compendium" and then cancelled that contract and has never paid for the continuance of its advertisement in the "L. C." after notice was given to withdraw it.

The Worker pleads guilty—proudly. It did make the mistake of agreeing to exchange "ads" with the "L. C." not having investigated closely enough that periodical's claim to be a labor paper. The Worker was shortly notified by the bona fide trade unions of St. Louis that the "L. C." was considered a scab paper, that it was under a boycott because of its vicious disparaging articles. Thereupon the management of The Worker did as it has done in other cases, often at considerable cost. It refused to advertise a scab article and cancelled the contract. The Worker will do the same thing again, if it ever again inadvertently accepts a scab advertisement.

Not Mr. Hearst's Way.

If this be disallowable, let the Natural Ally make the most of it. It is the way of The Worker to consider the interests of the working class more sacred than its own business interests. It is not Mr. Hearst's way. It may be remarked. When the New York Grocery Clerks were trying to organize, when Grocery King Butler was blacklisting their men, when the Central Federated Union boycotted Butler and sent a committee to ask Labor's Friend Hearst to refuse Butler's "aid," Hearst replied: "We will take that advertisement as long as Mr. Butler chooses to put it in until you show us that you can hurt us with your boycott."

There is only a little more to add to this story, already too long for so contemptible a subject as Hearst's Natural Ally.

"No Politics in the Unions."

Natural Ally Steinblais is a bitter opponent of Socialism. He holds that "there should be no politics in the unions"—that is, no working-class politics. He calls his publication a labor paper. We have before us a recent number of this remarkable labor paper—the issue of June 21. It consists of eight pages, six columns on each. Four columns of the first page are occupied with laudatory "personal opinions" of Hearst. Hearst's picture and half a column of "editorial" in praise of him appear on the second page. Half a column more about Hearst on the third page. Fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh pages—all Hearst, two pictures of Hearst, a poem to Hearst, a poem to Hearst, newspaper extracts in praise of Hearst, account of Hearst's well-known domestic virtues, and so on, ad infinitum and ad nauseam. And this is a trade union paper!

Birds of a Feather.

The Natural Ally's lame explanation of the lie about Chase (Old Slouth theory and all) is reproduced in full by the Haverhill "Clarion," a paper supported by Republican local politicians (note the beautiful harmony of the old parties) for the purpose of maligning the Socialist Party, there is no doubt. Of course it is reproduced too by that

CHARLES L. FURMAN FOR MAYOR.

Brooklyn's Popular Socialist Veteran the Choice of City Convention.

Morris Brown of Cigar-makers' Union No. 144 Nominated for Controller and Peter J. Flanagan of Typographical Union No. 6 our Candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen.

For Mayor—Dr. Chas. L. Furman of Brooklyn.

For Controller—Morris Brown of Cigar-makers' Union No. 144.

For President of the Board of Aldermen—Peter J. Flanagan of Typographical Union No. 6.

The above ticket for the municipal election next November was the choice of the city convention of Comrade Furman was then made unanimous. Morris Brown and Leonard D. Abbott were nominated for the office of Controller. Abbott declined and Brown was nominated by acclamation.

Peter J. Flanagan, Leonard D. Abbott and Frederick Hine were nominated as candidates for President of the Board of Aldermen. Comrades Schaefer and Abbott were then nominated by acclamation.

Over one hundred delegates and as many more comrades were in attendance and enthusiasm, harmony, and rapid and orderly dispatch of business marked the proceedings of the convention.

The convention was called to order by Comrade Bartholomew, Secretary of the City Executive Committee, at 11 a. m. Morris Hillquit was elected temporary chairman, and M. M. Bartholomew temporary secretary. Committees on credentials and on rules were then elected and a short recess taken to enable the committees to report.

After these committees had reported, and delegates had been duly seated, permanent officers were elected as follows: Chairman, Morris Hillquit; Vice-Chairman, Dr. C. L. Furman; Secretary, M. M. Bartholomew; and Comrade Lemmon. The following committees were elected: Committee on Platform, Comrade Hillquit, Abbott, Lemmon, Schaefer, Atkinson; Committee on Resolutions, Comrades Furman, Adams, Rock, Fischel, and Martin; Committee on Ways and Means, Comrades Ortland, Gail, Schaefer, Wenzel, and Thielmer. The report of the City Executive Committee was read by the Committee on Resolutions.

After dinner recess the convention re-convened at 2:30 p. m. and proceeded to act upon the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The resolution in the German elections was unanimously adopted, and the secretary instructed to forward it to the German comrades.

"Resolved, That we send greeting to our gallant German comrades and heartily congratulate them upon their brilliant success in the face of difficulties that would have appalled any people not imbued with the spirit of truth and justice. We hail the day when their votes will become a tidal wave that will overwhelm the forces of capitalism."

It was decided to send a similar resolution to the comrades of Denmark, congratulating them upon their gain in the recent parliamentary elections. The fight against the resolution was adopted in regard to the Kishineff massacre.

"Resolved, That the Social Democratic Party in convention assembled condemn the Russian government for the massacre at Kishineff, which is the direct result of its instigation and the indirect result of its general policy in keeping the masses of the people in ignorance and of fanning their racial prejudices as a means of countering the revolutionary tendencies in them."

"Resolved, That we brand the pretended indignation of the capitalist class and its press about the Kishineff massacre as insincere and hypocritical, in view of the fact that the Russian government is daily dependent on the help of the capitalist class in Europe, and America for their financial support, and could not carry on its business and inhuman policies without such aid and co-operation; we brand the interposition of our government on behalf of the Jews of Russia as disingenuous and doomed to failure because of its own policy of fostering race-hatred, and its brutal persecution of the working class whenever the interests of the capitalists demand it."

"Resolved, That we call upon the Jewish working class to remember that the Jewish capitalists are in the forefront of those who keep the present Russian government alive by their ready financial aid, and that the only solution of the so-called Jewish problem is the overthrow of the present government and the establishment of a democratic republic, which is only to be accomplished through the struggle of the working class for its emancipation from the bondage of capitalism."

A resolution condemning the United States Supreme Court for refusing to review the Alabama constitution disfranchising the negroes was adopted and referred to the Committee on Platform for revision.

It was decided that the City Campaign Committee consist of five members from the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx, three from Kings County, two from Queens and two from Richmond.

The committee on Platform presented a draft of platform, recommending that it be adopted as a basis only and referred back to this committee for revision and the committee be given power to increase its numbers. This recommendation was adopted.

Algeron Lee, Morris Brown, Charles H. Mathelet, and Dr. C. L. Furman were nominated for Mayor. Comrade Lee absolutely declined to accept, and it was stated that Comrade Mathelet, who was not present, could not accept.

BIG LOCKOUT IN SWEDEN.

Part of International Attack on Labor Movement.

Twenty Thousand Machineists Are Thrown Out of Work—Appeal to Comrades in America for Aid—Now Is the Time for Class Solidarity.

Our comrade A. Skauberg of Brooklyn has received from E. Blumberg, President of the Swedish Association of Machineists and Metal Workers, the following significant cablegram:

"General lockout in Sweden, July 7, in all the machine works. Twenty thousand men are affected. The employers wish with their organization to kill the workingmen's unions. The workingmen's association asks for aid from Swedish comrades and sympathizers in your country."

Notice of this event has been given to all Swedish papers in the United States and will be given also to all machineists' unions in the country. Readers of The Worker who are willing and able to aid the machineists of Sweden in this conflict forced upon them by the employers' association should write, asking for subscription blanks and for further information, to A. Skauberg, 603 President street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

While the National Association of Manufacturers in the United States is bent on arousing the capitalists to concerted action, while the Economic League has been organizing them for a campaign of miseducation against the trade union and the Socialist movement, while the National Metal Trades Association, the Building Trades Employers' Association of New York, and many other organizations of bosses have been organizing lockouts, blacklists, and a great spy system and have been attempting to form rival unions to fight the legitimate organizations of the working class, while labor bills were being killed in Congress and the state legislatures and projects of legislation against the labor movement prepared, while the courts have been busy declaring labor laws unconstitutional and awarding damages to employers against unions for declaring strikes—while all this systematic attack on the labor movement in both industrial and its political branches has been taking form and getting strength in the United States, the capitalists of Europe have not been idle.

The Taft and Deansy decisions in England, the great lockout of dock workers in Germany, the passage of the anti-strike laws in Holland and the bloody repression of the transport workers' strike, the proposition of similar laws in Norway, checked only by a rigorous and united demonstration of the Socialist Party and the trade unions, form a series of related events in which this attack on the Swedish machineists is only one more logical step.

Even at the Antipodes the same forces are at work, as shown in the defeat of the Australian railway workers' strike and the passage of repressive laws in the colony of Victoria.

THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WORLD ARE COMING TO REALIZE THAT THE CHIEF IS AT HAND. THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ARE THINKING AND STRIKING AND VOTING TOGETHER. GETTING READY TO THROW OFF THE YOKES OF PROFIT SLAVERY. IT IS A STRUGGLE TO THE DEATH AND THE DECISIVE DAY IS NOT FAR OFF.

Now, when the capitalists, by their frantic attacks, show their real alarm, now is the time for the workers of all lands to draw closer the bonds of international fraternity and to redouble the energy of their fight against the capitalist system.

THE CONSERVATIVES.

"On a charge of conspiracy twenty-one leaders in the teamsters' and hackmen's strike were arrested."—Daily Paper.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake."—Matthew V, 10.

Cackling of things that are dead, ye sleek-faced bondsmen to ease, Living, yet ruled from the tomb, what think ye of men such as these?

Law and long usage ye prate; but who made the laws, gods or men? "Make way for the law," ye cry, but Justice is far from your ken.

Hireling preachers and teachers echo your cry, for their bread; Each making the white of his belly away the small brains in his head.

Comforting words of the Christ distorted for pay in the schools; While ye and your sons hope perchance to keep laborers germane to fools.

Centuries old is your game, stinking of blood and the past; Now ye are driven to bay, yelping your lie to the last.

Once was the stake and the rack allotted to slaves who would rise; Why should conspiracy charges give us a start of surprise?

Ay, but your power is ebbing, no more may ye kill with ye hate, Gilding your dress with the pliancheek plot: "For the good of the State."

Millions now live in the dawning 'tho' your courts would lengthen the night; Soon ye will fawn like cats, pretending ye, too, sought the light.

—Elmer Gearing, in the New Haven American.

THE CITY OF THE WORKERS.

On the Fourth of July the Social Democratic Party of New York City definitely entered the municipal campaign of 1903. As our campaign is to be a campaign of education, not of brass bands and fireworks and beer and boodle, we begin it early, in order to reach the people's minds before they are dazzled and deflected and confused with the clamor of capitalist politics.

Let us say at the outset that our campaign is not a mere municipal campaign in the ordinary sense. Whether we go into national, state, or city contests, we have always one and the same purpose. We may say, indeed, that the Socialist movement does not have successive campaigns, but that we carry on one continuous campaign for the overthrow of competition and the establishment of Socialism in its stead, for the destruction of the political, social, and economic supremacy of the capitalist class and the emancipation of the workers from all class rule. City campaigns, state campaigns, national campaigns are but incidents or phases of this great movement.

We know that Socialism cannot be realized in a single city, while the powers of state and nation remain in the hands of the capitalists and their agents. We know that the powers of city officers are limited—especially their powers for good.

But we know also that, while a city government in the hands of Social Democrats could not do all that it would desire, it could do much for the interests of the working class. We know that it would do what neither

Tammany demagogues nor "respectable" Reformers ever dream of doing—that it would use every tool of power at its disposal for the amelioration of the wrongs under which the workers suffer to-day, and that it would become a citadel and tower of strength for the working class in its world-wide and age-long battle against class rule.

Whose city is this by right? It is the city of the workers, for they have made it all that it is.

Whose city is it by present law? It is the Milers' city, the parasites' city, the non-producers' city, for the workers, lacking self-reliance and self-sacrificence, have allowed themselves to be divided on false issues and hoodwinked by the capitalists' impudent assumption of superiority.

The Social Democratic Party proposes that this city, made by the workers, shall be ruled by and for the workers.

The Social Democratic Party, in nominating its candidates for municipal office, can lay down this as their sole and sufficient rule of conduct on every question that may present itself to them when elected to office: "Is this measure in the interest of the working class? If so, we are for it. If not, we are against it."

Upon that basis we enter this campaign, against Tammany, against the Republican party, against the "Reformers," against every party of capitalism. We challenge them to meet us in fair discussion of principles. We work for Socialism in our time, for economic freedom in our time, and we will be satisfied with nothing less.

THE TEXTILE WORKERS' STRUGGLE.

The Causes and Progress of Their Big Strike in Philadelphia.

John Spargo Writes on Conditions in the City of Brotherly Love—Overwork and Miserable Wages—Strikers Are Holding Out Bravely and Are Thinking Hard.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 7.—Seventy-five thousand textile workers—men, women, and children, in nearly equal proportions—are on strike in this City of Brotherly Love. The sixth week of the strike is now on and both sides seem as determined as at the first four. Despite the malicious scumby reports in the capitalist papers that the ranks of the workers are being weakened, and that some of the most important mills are being opened, the fact is that with the exception of a few women and children, holed workers, the workers are standing solidly together.

This morning Mother Jones and myself, together with members of the local Textile Strike Committee, addressed a magnificent mass meeting in the Labor Lyceum at Kensington. From all I could gather from conversation with the strike leaders and many of the workers themselves, the prospects of a successful issue to the strike are decidedly encouraging. The spirit manifest everywhere is one of determination and enthusiastic loyalty.

The Point at Issue.

From the local committee of the textile workers I have received the following statement upon the real points of the dispute:

There are about 125,000 textile workers in the city of Philadelphia, of which number about 70,000 are organized in various separate unions, the whole being brought together for common action in the Central Textile Workers' Union of Philadelphia and vicinity. The Central Union decided some two months before the strike began to initiate a referendum vote upon the question of a shortening of the working time, a great deal of discussion having been manifested upon that score for two years past. The organizations voted almost unanimously in favor of making a demand for a shortening of the hours of labor from sixty to fifty-five per week.

Now, about 10 per cent. of the whole number ask for the reduction of hours without any reduction in pay, but the remaining 90 per cent. of the workers merely ask for the reduction of hours and are content to lose the five hours' wage, although their pay is miserably small already. As nearly as I have been able to ascertain, those who are demanding the decrease of hours with no decrease of pay are the entire ingrain carpet trade, including winders, spoolers, weavers, warpers, and loom fixers, woolen and carpet yarn spinners and dyers. Those who are willing to accept the decreased wage provide they obtain the shortening of their working time, are:

	Number.
Brondcloth weavers	20,000
Narrow cloth weavers	20,000
Upholstery weavers	2,000
Damask cloth weavers	3,500
Terry cloth weavers	1,000
Rug and curtain weavers	1,000
Flush weavers	2,000
Blanket weavers	2,000
Tapstry and Brussels carpet weavers	2,000
Handloom weavers	1,000
Fancy novelty weavers	3,000
Reamers and twistors	750
Narrow loom fixers	250
Broad loom fixers	200
Jacquard loom fixers	300

I could not ascertain the number of the workers who demand the shorter hours with the old rates of wages, but

—Send 75 cents to the Socialist Literature Company, 151 William street, New York, for a hundred copies of that new pamphlet containing "The Socialist View of the Waterbury Strike," "Real Race Suicide," and "The Incentive."

HOW OTHERS THINK OF F. O. MACCARTNEY.

Memorial Resolutions Adopted by the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Estimate Made by Springfield "Republican."

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., June 24.—The Springfield "Republican," which probably stands at the very head of the daily press of the United States for its thoroughness, dignity, and breadth of view, in reviewing this year's session of the Legislature to-day, speaks in the following terms of the Socialist member: "The Socialist Party has gained one member in Mr. Henshaw of Brockton, but it has suffered an almost irreparable loss in legislative circles, by the death of Mr. MacCartney of Rockland. The resolutions adopted by the House in Mr. MacCartney's honor were well deserved, and they put the vast social and moral issue which inspired him more clearly than could have been expected from members of other political parties. The new member has not risen to the grade of the former one, but he has endeavored to do so. He has been one of the numbers of Brockton, and he has continued to act upon the same lines as in previous years.

"They have been no true to principle and they have pleaded their cause as well that members of both Republican and Democratic parties have been persuaded and have voted for some of their measures. They have held the attention of the House particularly because they have had well-defined political principles. Indeed, with the exception of two or three other members, they have been alone in having a working political philosophy. Their fulness of thought has illustrated the general poverty of political and ethical principle on the part of most of the members—who undoubtedly represent the mass of the people—a poverty which very likely accounts for our Philippine policy, for the decline in the general religious and political tone of the people, and which emphasizes the urgent necessity on the part of the people generally of getting back to solid ground and clear moral convictions upon matters of both politics and religion, in both of which the popular deficiency is marked, serious and detrimental. The Socialists, in this regard, are better missionaries and public servants than any other class in the Legislature."

BOSTON, Mass.—Following are the resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives in memory of our late Comrade MacCartney:

"Whereas, Frederick O. MacCartney, a member of the House of Representatives from the Fourth Plymouth Representative District, died at his home in Rockland on the twenty-fifth day of May in the year nineteen hundred and thirty, be it

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives hereby expresses its deep sense of loss and profound sorrow at the death of one of its most earnest and prominent members. Born in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, November 2, 1864, and educated in the public schools of Storm Lake, Iowa, at Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa, and at the Andover Theological Seminary, Mr. MacCartney was ordained first as a Congregational minister, and then as a Unitarian minister. In the latter capacity he was a assistant pastor of the Second Unitarian Church of Boston, and, later, minister of the Unitarian Church of Rockland. After a five years' pastorate in the latter place Mr. MacCartney decided to enter politics, as affording him a broader field for the accomplishment of his life purpose—the uplifting and advancement of the laboring classes. In an annually Republican district he was elected four times successively to the House of Representatives, first as a Democratic-Socialist, and then as a Socialist. He at once arose to eminence in the House, not only by the radical character of his opinions, but by the uncompromising integrity with which he championed them. Believing, as he did, that the present organization of society is wrong, that it lavishes privileges upon the rich and denies justice to the poor, he made ceaseless warfare upon it, and forbore no opportunity to denounce it in scathing terms. Rightly or wrongly he was convinced that inequalities in the distribution of wealth spring from legislation, and could be cured by legislation. With his whole heart he gave himself to the propagation of his faith, and fell battling in its service at the very threshold of his powers. Of his sincerity, his courage, his ability, his eloquence, his love of his fellow-men, and his loyalty to the truth, as he saw it, he is commended, as he deserved, the respect of his associates of the House of Representatives, and of all men everywhere.

"Content thee, however, whose days are done; There lies not any troublesome thing before, Nor sigh nor sound to war against thee more, For whom all winds are quiet as the sea, All waters as the shore."

"Resolved, That the sympathy of the House of Representatives be extended to the family of the deceased in this their hour of bereavement."

"Resolved, That an engrossed copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased, and that they be entered on the Journal of the House."

"To many readers it may be necessary to explain that, just as the Socialist Party is still unable to use that name under the election laws of New York and must call itself the Social Democratic Party, so in Massachusetts, in earlier years, we were, for similar reasons, obliged to accept the official designation of Democratic-Socialist. The change is a change of name only, not of the identity or character of the party."

As these resolutions were brought before the House, several of our opponents spoke in eulogy of MacCartney's noble personal character. Representative Schofield said in part: "As one of those who, during the past two years have had the opportunity of knowing the late Frederick O. MacCartney, I have learned during that time to respect and honor him as an earnest, honest, and enthusiastic

advocate of the rights of the masses and as one who was honestly and consistently opposed to special privileges to classes. I also learned to know Mr. MacCartney in his every day life and to find in him the kind, courteous, and lovable man, who, in spite of the fact that in debate he was always firm, determined, and intensely in earnest in the advocacy of the principles in which he believed, could, when the fray was over and the battle fought, meet his most determined opponents with the courtesy grace and the pleasing smile of a warm hearted Christian gentleman. That his belief in the principles he advocated was sincere and honest, no one who knows him can doubt. Whether victory perched upon his banner, or whether the cause he loved was engulfed in defeat, he stood firm as a rock for that cause, and never ascribed principle for policy."

Representative Everett said: "His political and in some of our theological views were wide apart as the poles, but that did not hinder us from admiring some of the sterling qualities of the man."

"Let us briefly analyze his character. In the first place, he was honest and sincere in the advocacy of what he thought was right. The press of New England has given him credit for that, and every man on this floor believes it."

"His purity of life, his power in debate, his unflinching courage to his last, his unyielding friendship for his intimate associates, formed a cluster of virtues that the strongest might envy."

"He was a brave man—brave even to recklessness. On the battle plain amid charging squadrons, the air full of the missiles of death, and the dead and dying all around, he would have been in the front ranks, and one of the first to scale the parapets of the enemy and plant the flag of his country thereon. Brave as he was in life, he was equally brave in death. Here after hour, and day after day, he kept the grim monster at bay, and never yielded to the last enemy until compelled to yield by sheer exhaustion. In his hours of delirium, he imagined himself once more standing upon this floor, and he hurled defiance at all opponents with a strenuousness far beyond his natural strength."

Representative Dana of Newton joined in the acknowledgment of MacCartney's great qualities, saying: "He was probably the member of the House with whom he most often crossed swords in debate upon the questions and principles which he had advocated in life, it is therefore fitting that I should in some measure at least attest my admiration of his qualities and his unswerving integrity."

"Differing so widely as we did as to the legislative policy of the state, it is to be supposed that in the heat of debate and argument statements would be made that would have strained and wounded feelings between us. Such was not the case. MacCartney, while fighting incessantly for the principles which he so fondly wished to see realized, at no time forgot that he was a gentleman and a man. Fighting as was his wont, fervently and intensely for a radical change of conditions as applied to the people and the government, he at all times accorded to his opponents the same courtesy and respectful hearing that he wished to receive. He was certainly a man who, in the eyes of Massachusetts, may be justly claimed as a citizen and the Legislature proud to claim as a member. Honest, upright, incorruptible, MacCartney was a shining honor to the Massachusetts House, and, although of an opposing party, I can sincerely say that no act or motive of his during his four years' brilliant record here will ever be questioned in the least degree. Representing as he did the smallest of the political parties of the state, nevertheless, his ability from the commencement of his membership compelled the admiration and attention of the House."

"Always loyal to the interests he so eagerly championed, always true to his position as a legislator, always upright as a man and friend; caring not for plaudits or preferment, doing his duty as he saw it, fearlessly, unswerving, and faithfully, he won our lasting and abiding friendship and respect and stamped himself a leader of men and a source of pride to this Commonwealth."

Representative Henshaw of Brockton, the latest comrade in the little group of Socialist legislators, spoke briefly in memory of his friend and comrade, saying: "Mr. Speaker, I should not feel that I had done my duty if I kept silent in my seat on this occasion, for I feel that it is not only my duty, but one of the crowning honors of my life, to be permitted to stand here in my place and speak a few words of praise to one of the noblest of men who has ever lived in this state. He was a man of high position and given freely of his time, energy, and money for the real benefit of that class of people to whom he sought to give justice and real prosperity. For Mr. Speaker, do we not realize that we are living in a time when we can see the ripening conditions of a capitalist system that is to my mind fast coming to be a damnable and ungodly system, that if allowed to continue will yet prove to us all the truth of that passage of scripture that says, 'The love of money is the root of all evil.' MacCartney was not made of that material that would allow him to be satisfied with a system that brings forth on the one side, a monetary king clothed in broadcloth and diamonds, living in luxury and criminal waste, and on the other hand, a vast army of toilers, many of whom are women and children living in want and misery while others are being crowded into that ever growing army of tramps and criminals. Mr. Speaker, as we look back on the life of MacCartney and follow him from his boyhood to his death, we see in him at every stage, one who has freely given the best that was in him for the good of humanity, for his record has shown that he was not only a man of culture and ability, but he was made of that metal and guided by that spirit that made him as true as steel to the best interests of those for whom he labored."

"If you get a bundle of sample copies of The Worker, you will understand that you are requested to distribute them among your fellow workers. We need the help of many hands to spread the light."

NEW YORK STATE

Progress of the Automobile Fund—A Socialist Tax Collector in Constabulary—Agitation at Various Points.

Comrade Hugo Peters of Brooklyn has been elected a new member of the State Committee by vote of Greater New York.

At the last meeting of the State Committee, held recently, a report on the automobile project, stating that the machine was still in course of repairs at Paterson, N. J., but would be ready for the road in a few days. Communications from Albany and Falconer bring news that new locals are in process of organization at both these places. Preliminary to organizing a local in Port Jervis, Comrade H. Hulse applies for membership.

State Secretary Rhoads announces that Supreme Court justices will be voted for at the coming election in the First, Second, Fourth, and Eighth Congressional Districts, and that the locals in these various districts have been duly notified of this fact and instructed to hold nominating conventions. He also reported that 178 new subscription lists have been sent to locals throughout the state.

Constabulary boasts of a Socialist tax-collector, Comrade W. J. Taylor. He was elected last March. The constabulary was too late in filing nominations; undismayed, they instructed the voters to write Comrade Taylor's name in the blank column, which the village duly did in sufficient numbers to elect Comrade Taylor to office. Comrade Taylor will be kind enough to inform us: Do workmen pay taxes?

The Constabulary comrades came within four votes of electing the president of the village. The following party officers were elected at the last quarterly meeting of the local: Organizer, Daniel P. Moore; Treasurer, R. V. De Pyster; Financial Secretary and Literature Agent, Jacob Powell; Recording Secretary, C. E. Roser.

Comrade Stanton orders 100 of State Committee pamphlet No. 2 to be fired at capitalism in Whitehall.

Local Peckskill is an annual on the firing line and keeps the local political class guessing. Comrade Holmes has undertaken to do the least recognized but always the most important work of organization. He was appointed collector of dues, and as a result of his work the local sold 47 dues stamps during June. A successful agitation meeting was recently held, with Sol Feldman as speaker. A meeting is being arranged for Comrade Chase in the latter part of July. About \$3 was collected for the Automobile Fund, and \$4.90 was collected for the local agitation fund, which is to be used to send party papers to addresses in Croton, purchased by Comrades Hecker and Holmes. Owing to the activity of Comrades Hecker, Simonds, Holmes, and others, Local Peckskill shows a healthy militant activity which other locals would do well to emulate.

The Automobile Fund now stands as follows:

Previously acknowledged	\$108.50
Local Troy, first payment	2.00
W. Garbutt	1.00
Local Rochester	5.00
Dr. J. Halpern	5.00
Down-town Free German School	5.00
Total	\$136.50

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

IN NEW YORK. Open-air agitation meetings will be held in Greater New York under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party or auxiliary organizations as follows:

FRIDAY, JULY 10. Rutgers Square, Speakers: Rosen, Karinsky and Dolberg. Miles will speak in Jewish.

SATURDAY, JULY 11. Cherry and Clinton streets. Speakers: Pine, Josephson, Rosen, and Karinsky.

One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street and Willis avenue, Bronx. East Broadway and Pike street. Speakers: Josephson, Dolberg, Rosen, Karinsky, and Bernstein.

Southwest corner Thirty-fifth Street and Eighth avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Kruff and Mayers.

TUESDAY, JULY 14. Henry and Grand streets. Speakers: Bernstein, Rosen, Dolberg, Karinsky, and others.

Wendover and Third avenue, Bronx. Southeast corner Bleeker and Carmine streets, 3d A. D. Speakers: Finger and Paulsht.

One Hundred and Seventy-seventh Street and Bathgate avenue, Bronx. Southwest corner Sixteenth Street and Eighth avenue, 7th A. D. Speakers: Goldstein and Phillips.

THURSDAY, JULY 16. Northwest corner Twenty-fifth Street and Eighth avenue, 9th A. D. Speakers: Cassidy and Burrows.

Northwest corner Twenty-seventh Street and Tenth avenue, 9th A. D. Speakers: Abrahamson and Wood.

SATURDAY, JULY 18. Northeast corner Thirty-fourth Street and Seventh avenue, 25th A. D. Speakers: Lee and Panken.

Brooklyn. Atlantic avenue and Nevins street. Speakers: Aberle and Drost.

Washington and Johnson streets. Speakers: Mark, Feiser, and Dooly.

SATURDAY, JULY 11. Third avenue and Fifty-third Street. Speakers: Lackmeyer, Weil, and Miss Emma Swinton.

SATURDAY, JULY 18. Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 940 Wiloughby avenue. Speakers: E. Davidson and Miss Emma Swinton.

Fifth avenue and Fourteenth Street, 12th A. D. Speakers: Drost and Weil.

Fortieth Street and Fort Hamilton avenue. Speakers: Clark, Streeter, and Atkinson.

FRIDAY, JULY 24. Atlantic avenue and Nevins street. Speakers: Feiser and Drost.

Washington and Johnson streets. Speakers: Lackmeyer and Streeter.

SATURDAY, JULY 25. Broadway and Lafayette avenue. Speakers: Weil and others.

IN PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., July 6.—Regular meeting of the State Committee was held recently, Comrade John presiding. "Charles" was reported to Local Loysolock, Locomotive County, and Allegheny, Allegheny County. Communications were received from Local Williamsport, Avonmore, Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre, Pottsville, New Newton, Hazleton, Goodwill Hill, Lansford, Lehighton and Delaware County. Avonmore reports that the movement has been dormant there for some time, but is beginning to stir up now, and they are making arrangements to have a speaker on Labor Day. Pittsburgh is making arrangements for the county convention on July 18. Comrade East of Reading spoke in Pottsville on Sunday, June 28, to a good meeting, taking in seven new members, which makes a total of fourteen in two weeks. Comrade Moore of Philadelphia will address a meeting at Hazleton on July 31 and July 33. Comrade Goodall of New Jersey will speak in the same place.

Luzerne County convention was held on July 4, and is reported elsewhere in this paper. Delaware County also held its convention on Independence Day and made nominations as follows: For Prothonotary, William H. Holsinger; For Swarthmore, for Director of the Poor, James W. Sullivan of Chester, and for Justice of the Peace, Andrew Mayers of Dury. The police in Media, Delaware County, have been trying to break up the meetings there, and have passed an ordinance prohibiting any two people from stopping and talking on the sidewalk at one of the open-air meetings. The police ordered the people to move on, and the crowd started to move in a circle around the speaker's stand and made the police look on with amazement. They told them they might as well stand as keep moving that way. Comrade Chase spent two days in Philadelphia. Comrade John Spargo of New York will give a week to the service of the Philadelphia comrades in their agitation among the 100,000 striking textile workers of that city, at the expense of the National Headquarters. He will work from July 5 to 12. On Sunday, July 12, a committee will be sent to March "Chunk" to choose a place to hold a reunion on August 9, the day of the Socialist extension to March "Chunk." The National Secretary has been compelled to cancel the dates in Pennsylvania for Comrade Chase, not being able to secure any dates for him in Ohio and not hearing from Pennsylvania State Secretary in time.

LUZERNE COUNTY. WILKES-BARRE, Pa., July 4.—The annual convention of the Socialist Party of Luzerne County in Central Labor Union Hall, Wilkes-Barre, was well attended. County Chairman J. G. Wolf presided and County Secretary C. F. Quinn acted as secretary.

After hearing the report of the chairman and treasurer the following platform was adopted:

"At the date of the last convention of the Socialist Party of Luzerne County the great strike of the anthracite miners was in progress. The history of that struggle is now complete and the story of the moral victory achieved has been written in the memory of the people. That the Socialist Party took an active part in the combat and aided to the full extent of its power in forwarding the cause of the miners' cause and honorable recollection to every Socialist, and more particularly so, because of the evidence furnished during the strike of the forceful effect of political action, and the demonstration of the truth of the Socialist position that the cause of the capitalist can be most effectively overcome by the strike at the ballot box. As the party of the working class we seek no credit for our work, but we will aid in increasing the vote at the coming election. His tour will be under the direction of the state secretary. Every speaker in Ohio will in the future distribute at each evening meeting 100 copies of the 'Appeal to Reason' and 100 copies of the 'Coming Nation' with the compliments of these two papers—Joe Jasin and John Kibler, two well known speakers of Cincinnati, are arranging to make a Cincinnati tour of the southwest part of Ohio, and will cover sixteen counties which have heretofore had little of the regular agitation work done. Let the comrades all lend them a helping hand in their tour in the interest of the Socialist Party. The publication of the new Socialist paper, known as the 'Ohio Socialist,' is now in progress, and the first issue will be issued on the date of the next convention. Arrangements have been made to carry regular tours of current events and everything will be done to give the Socialists of Ohio an up-to-date paper, covering every phase of the state work, as well as being a valuable addition to the propaganda work. John W. Martin, 38 Pruden Building, Dayton, has charge of the business and of the project, and he will furnish any information necessary to the comrades. Howard H. Caldwell, one of the speakers who is now touring on the regular circuit, has moved to Dayton, and will in the future travel from there. The comrades of Dayton and of Ohio gladly welcome such a valuable addition to their ranks and hope that we can add many more of equal ability in our work. The work of the Socialists during the past week. The significant thing in the daily reports of the speakers is the increased number of people that are attending the meetings. During June Caldwell filled twenty-two engagements and addressed twenty-six meetings, all in a period of twenty-three days. Increased demands are now being made for speakers and more towns are being daily added to the circuit. The local organization in Delaware has swung into line again and promise to develop unusual strength there before election. They have tried many times before, but have certainly got the right start this time, and will succeed. Watch for returns from Delaware County this fall. The American Flint Glass Workers Union will meet in convention at Cincinnati July 12-13 and remain in session about ten days. The Cincinnati organization will take advantage of this opportunity and do propaganda work among the delegates, many of whom are already party workers. It was expected that John C. Chase of Massachusetts would tour the southern part of the state some time in July, but owing to the fact that the coming winter has only four days previous to the proposed time of his arrival it was impossible to arrange

"We wish to emphasize the fact that city governments as well as state and national are today controlled by capitalists and used to benefit Capital's interests (note the valuable franchises practically given away by city councils, both Republican and Democratic). Socialists pledge themselves to further every means in their power to overthrow the present system and to better the environment of those who are compelled to labor for the daily bread."

For Mayor—F. E. Seedi; City Treasurer—J. M. Dial, Jr.; City Clerk—E. Van Buren; City Assessor—Wallace Barker; City Jailor—Andrew Rudolf; Aldermen—John Reis, J. A. Gorrell; Councilmen—J. H. Dold, Otto Kerkow, J. P. Fugh, H. Baetzer, John Thibet, Robert Board—Sam Phillips, Peter Neuner, James Mason, Charles Riley, J. A. Worrell; State Legislature—William M. Danks.

IN OHIO. Isaac Cowen of Cleveland, the Socialist nominee for governor, will tour Ohio in the interest of Socialism during the fall campaign. Comrade Cowen is an able speaker, and his work will materially aid in increasing the vote at the coming election. His tour will be under the direction of the state secretary. Every speaker in Ohio will in the future distribute at each evening meeting 100 copies of the 'Appeal to Reason' and 100 copies of the 'Coming Nation' with the compliments of these two papers—Joe Jasin and John Kibler, two well known speakers of Cincinnati, are arranging to make a Cincinnati tour of the southwest part of Ohio, and will cover sixteen counties which have heretofore had little of the regular agitation work done. Let the comrades all lend them a helping hand in their tour in the interest of the Socialist Party. The publication of the new Socialist paper, known as the 'Ohio Socialist,' is now in progress, and the first issue will be issued on the date of the next convention. Arrangements have been made to carry regular tours of current events and everything will be done to give the Socialists of Ohio an up-to-date paper, covering every phase of the state work, as well as being a valuable addition to the propaganda work. John W. Martin, 38 Pruden Building, Dayton, has charge of the business and of the project, and he will furnish any information necessary to the comrades. Howard H. Caldwell, one of the speakers who is now touring on the regular circuit, has moved to Dayton, and will in the future travel from there. The comrades of Dayton and of Ohio gladly welcome such a valuable addition to their ranks and hope that we can add many more of equal ability in our work. The work of the Socialists during the past week. The significant thing in the daily reports of the speakers is the increased number of people that are attending the meetings. During June Caldwell filled twenty-two engagements and addressed twenty-six meetings, all in a period of twenty-three days. Increased demands are now being made for speakers and more towns are being daily added to the circuit. The local organization in Delaware has swung into line again and promise to develop unusual strength there before election. They have tried many times before, but have certainly got the right start this time, and will succeed. Watch for returns from Delaware County this fall. The American Flint Glass Workers Union will meet in convention at Cincinnati July 12-13 and remain in session about ten days. The Cincinnati organization will take advantage of this opportunity and do propaganda work among the delegates, many of whom are already party workers. It was expected that John C. Chase of Massachusetts would tour the southern part of the state some time in July, but owing to the fact that the coming winter has only four days previous to the proposed time of his arrival it was impossible to arrange

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND VOLKSZEITUNGS CONFERENCE OF N. Y. CITY

ON SUNDAY, JULY 19, 1933, 10 A. M., AT SULZER'S WESTCHESTER PARK (Borough of Bronx).

PRIZE BOWLING, GAMES, AMUSEMENTS, MUSIC AND DANCING.

ADMISSION, FREE. CENTS. PAYABLE AT THE GATE.

DIRECTIONS TO THE PARK.—Take West Farms or Southern Boulevard Trolley Car at 128th St. and 3d Ave. which goes direct to the Park; also 135th St. and 8th Ave. Trolley Car and transfer to West Farms Car; also from City Hall or South Ferry "L" road to 177th St. and Third (Tremont) Ave. and then with Trolley Car to Park.

COVINGTON CAMPAIGN.

COVINGTON, Ky., July 1.—The Socialist Party of Covington, Ky., again calls upon the voters of the city to intelligently consider the following self-evident facts:

"1. The present system of the private ownership of industry produces, upon the one hand, monopolized wealth (trusts), which control the political powers of nation, state and city, as well as the press; and on the other hand, poverty, crime and disease."

"2. A small percentage of the people are compelled to sell their labor power to the capitalist class, and by reason of this ownership are enabled to exploit labor; this is the capitalist class. The larger percentage of the people are compelled to sell their labor power (mental or physical) to this class in order to live; this is the working class. This class produces all wealth and receives for its share less than one-fifth of that which it creates."

"3. The Republican and Democratic parties are owned and controlled by the capitalist class, and therefore represent the interests of that class. The Socialist Party alone represents the interests of the working class."

"4. People to be free and independent must possess and exercise the right to select their officers. To-day we elect our political officers, but our industrial officers are forced upon us through the alternative between working and starving. Socialists demand industrial democracy as well as political democracy through the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, organized and controlled by the workers."

"We wish to emphasize the fact that city governments as well as state and national are today controlled by capitalists and used to benefit Capital's interests (note the valuable franchises practically given away by city councils, both Republican and Democratic). Socialists pledge themselves to further every means in their power to overthrow the present system and to better the environment of those who are compelled to labor for the daily bread."

For Mayor—F. E. Seedi; City Treasurer—J. M. Dial, Jr.; City Clerk—E. Van Buren; City Assessor—Wallace Barker; City Jailor—Andrew Rudolf; Aldermen—John Reis, J. A. Gorrell; Councilmen—J. H. Dold, Otto Kerkow, J. P. Fugh, H. Baetzer, John Thibet, Robert Board—Sam Phillips, Peter Neuner, James Mason, Charles Riley, J. A. Worrell; State Legislature—William M. Danks.

IN OHIO.

Isaac Cowen of Cleveland, the Socialist nominee for governor, will tour Ohio in the interest of Socialism during the fall campaign. Comrade Cowen is an able speaker, and his work will materially aid in increasing the vote at the coming election. His tour will be under

"TILL HUNGER SHALL COMPEL CAPITULATION."

"I SEE NO SOLUTION FOR THE PROBLEM UNTIL HUNGER COMPELS CAPITULATION." These are the words of Charles L. Edlitz, President of the Building Trades Employers' Association of New York, when asked as to the prospects of a settlement being reached in the great lockout.

"TILL HUNGER COMPELS CAPITULATION." Are those the words of a citizen to free fellow citizens? Are they the words of a man to his equals? Are they the words of a useful member of society to other useful members co-operating with him in the world's work?

The very question raises a smile.

They are the words of a master to his rebellious slaves.

They are the words of a superior, conscious of power and careless about right or the public welfare.

They are the words of a social parasite, who feels that he is able to dictate the terms upon which other men shall be allowed to exist and is determined to use his power ruthlessly for his own interest, regardless of the suffering—even to the extreme of hunger—that it will entail upon those who have created his wealth.

They are the words of an enemy of labor, an enemy of civilization, and an enemy of mankind.

And remember, they are not the words of Charles L. Edlitz alone. He is a capitalist, indeed. But he speaks here, not only for himself, but as the chosen agent and representative of the organized capitalist class. It is THE BUILT-UP AND LUST FOR POWER INHERENT IN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM that he thus puts into words.

"THERE IS NOTHING TO ARBITRATE," says Pullman.

"THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED," says Vanderbilt.

"THE DAMNED FOOLS" (workingmen) "DON'T KNOW WHAT IS GOOD FOR THEM," says Morgan.

"THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKINGMEN WILL BE TAKEN CARE OF BY THE CHRISTIAN MEN TO WHOM GOD HAS ENTRUSTED

RICHMOND STRIKE.

The Class Struggle in Virginia.

Murder and intimidation of Workingmen by Democratic Administration—Socialist Propaganda Among the Strikers.

Very little about the strike of street car workers in Richmond, Va., is being said in the outside world, so it is not generally known that martial law is practically in force. Since the strike commenced and the militia has been on the ground numerous outrages against the strikers and their sympathizers have occurred, one of the outrages being the shooting of a small boy. As the state and city are controlled by the Democratic party, a report of the strike situation in Richmond, under date of July 6, from Comrade John Cairrell, a member of the Bricklayers' Union of Richmond, is exceedingly interesting.

Comrade Cairrell's report is a graphic description of the methods being employed to defeat the strike and the manner in which the local Socialists are improving the opportunity to put the strikers in the right political track which leads to Socialism. He says:

Professional Strike-Breakers.

"There were two competing street car lines here until recently, when they consolidated and were granted franchises, for which the city had been offered \$300,000. Frank Gould of New York owns the controlling interest in the consolidation. There are 627 street car men on strike, and when the struggle began, the company failed to move a car for forty-eight hours, and since that time the service has been very poor. The company has imported strike-breakers from a detective agency in New York—Drummond's. The leader of the strike-breakers is the notorious Farley, who makes strike-breaking a business and who claims to have a force of 2,000 men throughout the country ready to act on demand. Farley receives \$2,500 a year and expenses, and his 'professionals' get \$250 per day and all they are permitted to 'knock down.' I heard one scab say, 'Dis was a bum try for knocking down, didn't have but three guys.'"

"When the first car left the barns there was rioting, the tracks were torn up and the services spoiled. The local papers immediately roared and ranted for protection for the 'sacred rights of private property.' The militia was called out, and although martial law has not been declared, yet the police powers are being exercised and if a man makes a derogatory remark in the presence of a scab the soldiers jump off the cars, arrest the offender, and the police justice (O seeks him for ten dollars and sixty days."

Legalized Law-Breaking.

"Last night a man was shot to death by militiamen in Manchester, our twin city, because he refused to stop when called to halt. All the powers of the government are being used most brazenly, and all laws openly violated in the interest of the company, while the workers are being intimidated and shot down under the guise of upholding the 'majesty of the law.' The city council refused positively to listen to a resolution brought up by one of the councilmen demanding that the company arbitrate the strike. Class antagonism was never so clearly manifested."

"The labor organizations have rallied to the support of the street car men, and my union, the bricklayers, in which there are ten Socialists and eighty subscribers to Socialist papers out of the 190 members, has contributed \$750 to the aid of the strikers, mainly through the efforts of the Socialists. The members of the city government, including Mayor Taylor, have had their eyes opened by this fight."

"The Socialist local has made it a point to keep prominently before the unions. We have distributed thousands of papers and are taking advantage of the present situation to begin a general fight in this city. One of our business men, Fritz Bitterling, director of several banks, building contractor and material man and nabob of this city of 100,000 people, is president of the street railway company. Our union has boycotted his material. An alliance has resulted between the contractors and material men, to resist the 'unlucky' tyranny of organized labor, and if the street car company wins the other labor strikers will begin operation on the same unions."

Socialists Aid the Strikers.

"The Socialist local pledged moral and financial aid, participated in a strikers' parade, and on the following morning I went before the union and told the strikers what the Socialist Party was doing, to the undisputed chagrin of some of the so-called 'labor leaders' who stamp the city every election for the politicians. These people tried to have me shut out but the union men knew me, as I had helped to get relief for the striking miners and for the street car men of Norfolk during their strike, so the leaders' efforts were unavailing. I have visited the union a dozen times, and each time have been called upon to speak, despite the efforts of the newspapers to scare the strikers by misrepresenting us and of the leaders to create prejudice against the Socialists."

"These same leaders were quietly engineering to have a labor party launched, but all our boys are working like Trojans and we know that this strike opens up a new era for Socialist propaganda in Richmond. I am off to address a meeting now, to which the strikers have invited me."

Comrade Cairrell requests that Socialist papers be sent him for distribution.

CANADA IN LINE.

A Reactionary Anti-Strike Law Enacted.

Enacting Class of the Dominion Follows Example Set by Capitalists of Europe and the United States—New Measure Calls to Mind the Fugitive Slave Law.

The text of the new anti-strike law enacted last month by the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada is now before us. All its terms and sweeping in its provisions, which are as follows:

"1. Every person is guilty of an indictable offense and liable to two years' imprisonment who, not being a British subject and not having been continuously domiciled and resident in Canada during one year before the commission of the act complained of, does in Canada counsel, incite, urge or induce any strike or lockout, or the continuance of any strike or any lockout."

"2. This section shall not apply to any person who, being a duly accredited officer of any international organization, comes into Canada to bring about a settlement of any strike or lockout."

"3. In proceeding under this section the burden of proof as to nationality, domicile and residence shall be upon the person accused."

The purpose of the measure is to hamper the workings of the labor organizations in Canada, most of which are affiliated with international unions having their headquarters in the United States, and, if possible, to isolate the Canadian workingmen from their brothers on this side of the line. It is safe to say that its only real effect will be to exasperate the feelings of the Canadian workingmen against their capitalist employers and actually to draw closer the bonds of international fraternity.

The Berlin Decision.

It will be remembered that, as reported in The Worker of June 21, a beginning has been made in Canada in following the judicial precedent against trade unions established by the Taff Vale and Denaby decisions in England and by the Rutland decision in the United States—Judge Meredith of Berlin, Ont., having awarded to the Krug Furniture Company damages against the local woodworkers' organization for having carried on a strike, although no question was raised of the use of violence, threats, or other unlawful methods by the strikers.

Canada has in the past sometimes been considered a backward country, but capitalism is now developing rapidly in the Dominion and the Canadian workers may eventually expect to enjoy all the "blessings of modern civilization"—lockouts, blacklists, adverse laws and court decisions, and liberal use of police and militia to break strikes—in which the toilers of Europe and of the United States already rejoice.

And Socialism is growing in Canada, too. In Ontario, in British Columbia, in every part of the country—and such reactionary laws as this just passed indicate the alarm which the exploiters of the north begin to feel.

Like the Fugitive Slave Law.

The infamous character and purpose of the new law is most pointedly shown by the last section, which outrages the universal rule of common law and common sense by throwing the burden of proof upon the accused. We can best find a historic parallel for this tyrannous provision in the Fugitive Slave Law enacted in this country some fifty years ago.

Let this be remembered: The Fugitive Slave Law made more Abolitionists than did all the Phillips' or Garrison's speeches. That the Lord Scott Decision made possible the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment. Well may the more thoughtful and prudent capitalists to-day cry to their frantic fellow exploiters: "Beware! Be moderate, be generous, be gentle. Restrain your greed and your ambition." FORTUNATELY A RULING CLASS NEVER CAN RESTRAIN ITSELF. Fortunately, for so soon will class rule be overthrown.

DO NOT DEFEND ON THOSE ABOVE.

There is one thing the working class must learn, and that is not to depend on leaders or those "higher up" to do the heavy work, or any great part of the work in the struggle for emancipation from wage-slavery. Man's material interests determine his ethics, and the material interests of the capitalist are in conserving his fortune at the expense of all who are in the way of that end; the interest of the farmer is in securing his farm to himself; no matter what happens to anybody else; and the interest of the leader is in keeping those that follow blind to his own reason, and strong only in blind obedience to his will. The workers can assert hope for anything from these. The farmer makes a good fighter when he loses his farm, and the capitalist is often times useful when he loses his capital, but not until they are members of the working class, with material interests identical with that class, will they fight for and with that class and come to victory in the end as an inherent part of that class. The regeneration of the world rests with the workers; let them see to it what they do.—E. B. Ault, editor The Young Socialist.

—Men will no longer be put off with promises; notes upon Heaven.—Heinrich Heine.

—We must keep Davis well supplied at the table, in order that Lazarus may have some crumbs to gather.—The Roosevelt recommendation logic.—George Costello.

HOW ANTI-TRUST LAW IS USED.

State of Texas Prosecutes Trade Unions.

Democratic Law That Was to Crush "Criminal Trusts" and Not Hurt "Legitimate Business Interests" Turns Out to Be Aimed at Labor Organizations.

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., July 9.—The boasted anti-trust law of this good old Democratic state, which was to strike terror to hearts and pocketbooks of Rockefeller and Morgan and forever to paralyze the "criminal trusts"—as distinguished by the Democratic statesmen from "legitimate combinations of capital"—is now to be enforced with a vengeance. It is to be enforced, that is, not against the trusts, but against the trade unions—which is exactly what anyone familiar with the principles of the Democratic party and the influence which control its organization should have expected.

Prosecuted for Boycotting.

A suit for penalties aggregating \$40,000 has been filed in the name of the state against the San Antonio Trades Council and the local Electrical Workers' Union in the City-Seventh District Court. The suit is based on an alleged violation of the Anti-Trust Law passed at the last session of the Legislature. This law, while ostensibly aimed at trusts and combinations of capital, also seriously restricts the right of laborers to strike and to withdraw their patronage from unfriendly employers and business men. The authors and advocates of the law vehemently protested, while it was pending in the Legislature, that it was not intended to apply to labor unions at all.

While the suit is filed in the name of the state, the real plaintiff is the owner of the Hotel Building, at the corner of Alamo and Commerce streets. In the exercise of what they have heretofore believed to be their inalienable right to trade where they pleased, the union of San Antonio decided not to trade in this building because one of their bitterest enemies had been given the contract for constructing a portion of it. The purpose of this suit is to punish them for this and to enjoin them from carrying out this agreement.

The courts are about to suspend their sittings for the summer, so the case will not come up for hearing before October, and possibly later.

A New Capitalist Aggression.

This is an interesting development in the attack on trade unionism through the courts. Following the precedent set in England last year, we have already had in Vermont and in Ontario decisions favorable to the employers in civil suits against trade unions for damages on account of strikes or boycotts, and suits of the same sort are pending in Connecticut, Illinois, and Wisconsin. We have also in several cases within the last few years seen injunctions issued at the suit of employers to forbid workingmen's organizations to declare a strike or a boycott. But this is, we believe, the first time that a state has initiated proceedings of this sort under the penal law.

The only question is: How many more aggressions of this sort on the part of the capitalists, how much further perversion of the law to the service of social parasites will it take to convince the working class of the necessity of taking control of the legislature, judicial, and executive powers of government in order to make and enforce laws in the interest of humanity, as they have so long been made and enforced for the protection of profit?

THE WORKERS.

We plow and sow, we're so very, very low.
That we deliver in the dirty clay.
Till we bleed and plain with the golden grain.

And the vale with the fragrant bay.
Our place we know, we're so very, very low.
'Tis down at the landlord's feet;
We're not too low the grain to grow,
But too low the bread to eat.

Down, down we go, we're so very, very low.
To the hell of the deep sunk mines;
But we gather the predestined gems that glow.

When the crown of the despot shines;
And when'er he lacks, upon our backs
Fresh loads he designs to lay;
We're far too low to vote the tax,
But not too low to say.

We're low, we're low—we're very, very low.
And yet from our lowly glide
Round the hinges of the gates of prize;
As when we were higher up we give
We're not too low the cloth to wear,
But too low the cloth to wear.

We're low, we're low—we're very, very low.
And yet when the trumpets ring
The thrust of the poor man's arm will go
Through the heart of the prodded king.

We're low, we're low—mere rabble, we know—
We're only the rank and file;
We're not too low to kill the foe,
But too low to share the spoil.

—Brother Jones.

—Socialists who live in places where no local branch of the Socialist Party exists, should join the party as members-at-large.

THOUSANDS OF CHILD SLAVES.

Capitalist Horrors in New Jersey.

Eight Thousand Children Working in Manufacturing Industries. Alarms—Farical Pretense of Restriction by Law.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, well-known for her record as a conscientious and efficient factory inspector in Illinois and now Secretary of the National Consumers' League, gave an address before the Summer School of Philanthropic Work last Saturday in which, discussing child labor in New Jersey, she spoke in part as follows:

"I select New Jersey to illustrate the results of the default of philanthropy in this important field because it is one of the great manufacturing states of the Union; a northeastern state, a near neighbor of New York and New England, where the most enlightened measures have been adopted for the children of the working class; and, briefly, because it is the classic example of the result of the endeavor of the trades unions to protect the children, without the aid of enlightened philanthropic experience in securing legislation and the enforcement thereof."

"The history of child labor legislation covers a period of twenty-six years, from 1877 to 1903, New Jersey having been the next state after Massachusetts to enact a child-labor law. At the end of that time New Jersey has according to the 1902 census, 8,042 children under the age of sixteen years engaged in manufacture, and ranks in this respect between South Carolina and Georgia."

High Rate of Illiteracy.

"New Jersey has 2,049 children between the ages of ten and fourteen years who cannot read and write, thus ranking next to Arizona with its Indians and Mexicans in the number of illiterate children of these ages. When measured by the percentage of children who can read and write, New Jersey ranks twenty-one in the scale of the states, having fallen from the fifteenth to the twenty-first position in the decade 1890-1900."

"When ranked according to the actual number of illiterate children, not the per cent., New Jersey ranks thirty-first in the scale of fifty-two states and territories. But this is only a part of the story; 8,042 children are at work in factories and workshops; it makes a great difference to them whether they work by night or by day; and whether they work eight hours, according to the laws of Utah, Montana, and Arizona, and the admirable new statute of Illinois; or nine hours according to the new law of New York; or twelve hours according to the infamous law of Pennsylvania; or without any limit whatever as long as they can keep awake and refrain from fainting where they stand."

"Now, in 1902 New Jersey enacted a law limiting the hours of work for women and minors under eighteen years of age to the period between seven A. M. and noon, to six P. M., five days in the week; and between seven A. M. and noon on Saturday. This applies to all factories and workshops. It prescribes a working day of not more than ten hours on five days in the week, and makes the Saturday half-holiday compulsory for all women and minors under the age of eighteen years, all the year around. It has never been repealed or pronounced unconstitutional."

"This statute placed New Jersey in the forefront of the states as having the most enlightened of all the laws governing the hours of labor of women and children. But there fell upon this law the same blight which has vitiated all the New Jersey child-labor legislation, namely, WHOLESALE EXEMPTION followed by NON-ENFORCEMENT."

Exemption and Non-enforcement.

"There were exempted glassworks, canneries, and establishments for preserving perishable fruits; and these were EXACTLY THE INDUSTRIES IN WHICH WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE MOST EXPLOITED. No little boys work now, as they have always worked, all night long, in the glassworks. Several hundred of them would be working to-night but for the fact that the blowers cannot endure the heat of the ovens in July and August and the works are closed for their benefit. In the canneries, mothers with whole families of children from five years of age upwards, work from sunrise to dark throughout the sweltering weeks of July, August and early September, and, under the exemptions, no law is broken."

"The appointment of officers to enforce the factory laws has never been a matter of solicitude on the part of the advanced organized philanthropy in this country, as it has always been in England. It is assumed that working children are of interest only to the trade unions, and these seem to care chiefly for the appointment of trade union men; recognition of the union. Hence there has never been in New Jersey any search for administrative or executive ability on the part of the chief inspector of factories. The quality of the men appointed has corresponded rather closely to the quality of the laws themselves."

Partly Enforced in Organized Factories.

"Hence there is always the curious spectacle that in factories in which the law is obeyed and the Saturday half day is granted. But in the industries in which there is not a strong labor organization, and this is true of most of

CAN WE TRUST OURSELVES TO RULE OURSELVES?

The Brooklyn "Eagle"—about as stupidly well-edited a paper as can be found anywhere—is, like most of its capitalist contemporaries, much concerned about the great Socialist gains in Germany, and about the rapid progress of Socialism in this country, which the German election news reveals forcibly to its attention. The "Eagle" screams with patriotic rage at the thought of the "tyranny" which Socialism, it says, will establish. Listen to it:

"What liberty can a nation give where the state dominates the individual, who make the state; where every village has its czar; where personal ambition is nullified by the state's seizure of and exploitation of the results of work, thought and discovery; where men are assigned to tasks, as soon as they come of age, as they are assigned to classes in the schools; where savings are useless and impossible; where the shirt and dunder thrice disappointedly, and the wise, economical and painstaking are not rewarded for their merit; where government not only fixes the employment and the wage, and controls utilities and output, but settles for itself who shall marry and how far the child shall be educated?"

It is proverbially good American fashion, Yankee fashion, to answer question with question. Let us be American:

What liberty DOES a nation enjoy where the state is dominated by the few individuals who own the nation's means of production, its means of life? THAT IS AMERICA TO-DAY.

What liberty does a nation enjoy where every factory, every mine, every railroad, every lumber-camp, every banana farm or plantation has its czar, who holds the keys of discharge and blacklist over the shoulders of the toilers, who can work and live only by his permission? That is America to-day.

What liberty does a nation enjoy where 9 per cent. of the people have, by lawful or unlawful means, succeeded in seizing and exploiting 75 per cent. of the wealth resulting from the work and thought and discovery of the whole people; where the most patient toilers and the greatest inventors die in poverty and brainless idlers shape Imperial Rome with their costly vulgarities? That is America to-day.

What liberty does a nation enjoy where thousands upon thousands of children are assigned to tasks, before their little bodies are half developed, and must stand all day or all night, week in and week out, year in and year out, coining their childhood into fat profits for the mill owner and miserable wages for themselves, to help keep the wolf from the door of the home? That is America to-day.

What liberty does a nation enjoy where, for the mass of the workers, saving is so utterly beyond possibility that every decade shows a larger proportion of mortgaged homes and farms, a larger proportion of tenants, a smaller proportion of independent shops or stores, a larger proportion of those which employ a large number of women and minors, the law is boldly broken. So the Saturday half-holiday which would be so great a boon is virtually unknown in factories to which it was especially intended to apply; those textile and needle trade factories which employ hundreds of women and girls have relatively few men."

"LIBERTY AND INDIVIDUALITY."

Omaha Coal Dealers Exemplify It by Agreeing to Boycott Any Customers Who Insist on Being Served by a Union Teamster.

OMAHA, Neb., July 9.—The Coal Dealers' Exchange, which carried on the recent fight against the organized teamsters, has posted in all yards and offices the following significant notice:

"No teamster shall be allowed to wear, while on duty, any emblem of membership in any labor organization. In the event that any delivery of fuel is prevented by reason of the membership or non-membership in any labor organization of the team driver, the dealer affected shall immediately report the fact to the Secretary of the Coal Exchange."

"It shall be the Secretary's duty to immediately inform all members of the Exchange and thereafter no member shall deliver any fuel to the place where coal has been refused until arrangements shall have been made satisfactory to the conference committee to receive fuel without discrimination for or against union or non-union team drivers."

The reputable gentlemen and public-spirited citizens who control the people's fuel supply, and who talk loud about "personal liberty" and "individuality" against the growing Socialist thought of the day, thus presume, not only to dictate to their drivers in a matter so strictly personal as the wearing of a union button, but even to decree that any man who, as a customer, insists on the employment of union labor in the supply of his wants shall be refused fuel at any price to keep his family warm until he consents to go to the bosses' secretary and make humble apology for his seditious conduct and promises to be "good" in the future.

"Individuality" is indeed a sacred thing when it is embodied in stocks and bonds and a good balance at the bank. And this is what the majority voted for. Will they do it again?

IS "PROSPERITY" GETTING SHAKY?

The "American Federationist" for July gives a chart showing the extent of unemployment among trade unionists for the first five months of the present year, as compared with the corresponding months of 1902. For January the proportion of unemployed was nearly twice as high in 1903 as in 1902; for February about one-third higher; for March and April about one-third lower; and for May more than twice as high. This is the period of five months as a whole, the proportion of men unemployed was about 50 per cent. higher this year than last. Is "prosperity" beginning to get shaky?

—Send 10 cents to the Socialist Literature Company, No. 184 William street, New York City, and get a portrait of Mother Jones.

HIGH-HANDED LEGISLATION.

The New Jersey Legislature by New Primary Law Deprives the Socialist Party of Official Standing.

An examination of the new Primary Law passed by the New Jersey Legislature in its last session and approved on April 15 shows that the old parties in control at Trenton have noted the progress of the Socialist Party and wish to put every obstacle in their way. Under the old law a party was officially recognized and could nominate by convention when it had polled TWO per cent. of the vote for legislative candidates, and under this provision our party was official standing in various parts of the state. The new law defines a political party as one "which at the election for members of the General Assembly next preceding held pursuant to this act polled for members of the General Assembly at least FIVE per centum of the total vote cast." ETC.

By this high-handed procedure of the "representatives of the sovereign people" the Socialist Party is deprived of official standing and is again compelled to make its nominations by petition, in accordance with the Election Laws of 1895, instead of working under the provisions of the Primary Law. It behooves the comrades throughout the state to take note of this fact, to see that candidates are nominated in every district, that every formality is observed so that no chance may be given to the politicians to ignore with any technicalities, and to work with all their might to roll up a vote of more than 5 per cent., so that we shall have no such trouble in the future.

POLICE AND PROPERTY.

All private ownership of public resources rests back upon fraud and injustice, and depends upon force. The more the wealth of a nation becomes centralized, the more standing armies become necessary. The more the resources of a municipality become privately centralized, the stronger and more necessary becomes the police force. Policemen and police systems exist, not to protect men, but to protect property. The legions of the Caesars were not for the protection of men, but for the protection of the plunderer—the Roman patricians. The Roman Caesar finally came to be a mere chief of police for the plutocracy. The standing army that is to-day called for in America is wanted, as every one of us knows, to police vested interests and corporate properties.—George D. Herrold, in The Comrade.

—The detentions of the working class, set to protect men, but to protect property. What wonder is it that the latter should be careful to see that the supply does not run short?—Mike People.

THE PARTY PICNIC.

Every Social Democrat in New York City Should Be at Sulzer's on Sunday—Much Work Is to Be Done and Funds Are Needed.

Every comrade or sympathizer with the Social Democratic Party in New York City should make it a point to be present at the party picnic in Sulzer's Westchester Park on Sunday, July 19. The whole net proceeds of the picnic go to the party organization of the city and state, the Volksteilung Conference, which has actively co-operated in arranging the affair, having generously voted to give up its share of the profits, so that a party picnic may be raised to start the campaign.

An interesting feature of the picnic will be the presence of Mother Jones and a delegation of textile strikers from Philadelphia.

The park is a large and pleasant one and every preparation has been made to assure a good time to all who attend. There will be prize bowling and other games, good music, dancing, and other forms of amusement. Admission is 10 cents, payable at the gate.

The park may be reached direct by the West Farms or Southern Boulevard cars from One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street and Third Avenue or by the elevated to One Hundred and Seventy-seventh street and the Tremont trolley.

Comrades, turn out in a body on Sunday, bring your friends along, and make the party picnic as complete a success financially as it is sure to be socially. The State Committee and Local New York need plenty of money from now on to carry on the agitation. Now is your opportunity to start things off in earnest.

—Emperor William will probably favor us with his views on Socialism and popular elections just as soon as he can get them cooled down so they can be safely transmitted.—The Washington Post.

NEW YORK. H. H. SALTZBERG
COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW
300 Broadway, Room 602. 50 Times Sq.

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A REVOLUTIONARY DECLARATION.

Closing Campaign Utterance of German Social Democrats, Which Gives the Lie to the American Capitalist Press.

[The article which we here reproduce from the "Vorwärts" of Berlin, the central organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, in its issue of June 14, two days before the Reichstag election, at once gives the lie to the pretenses of the capitalist press of the United States, that the German Social Democrats are not revolutionary, and, on the other hand, refutes those who say that revolutionary Socialism, as advocated alike in Germany and in America, means violence and disorder and destruction. We are indebted to the "Appeal to Reason" for the translation here used.]

Above the puny sparrow flight of bourgeois campaign trickery, the thought of Socialism rises like an eagle. Socialist philosophy is the only clear idea in a world full of confusion, the only great factor in a time full of aimlessness, the only will battling against mental inertia, the only hope which triumphs over the cares of today and leads a meaning to the lives of millions.

But now it is suddenly claimed that the Socialists are getting ashamed of their platform. The only political movement which does not wander about aimlessly, but is proceeding straight toward a really great and mighty goal, is suddenly said to be "telling its aim." The men who frankly confessed and announced a new world message, who paid for their honest convictions, during the last five years alone, the penalty of three years of imprisonment, and of every new and newly charged with tramping through the country in the guise of mysterious heroes of detective stories and with having no other care but to conceal their dark plans behind a spotless shirt front. Every bourgeois campaign meeting, every capitalist campaign leaflet, loudly proclaims: The Socialists are concealing their real program.

Our capitalist antagonists are not aware how bitterly they are mocking themselves. Our program, our aim, that is the standard which we have carried through all election campaigns from victory to victory. Their lack of a program, their clumsy demagoguery which covers the self-interest of their class with the phantasmic costume of the alleged commonwealth, their self-satisfaction, have received their just dues at every election. But now we are said to have learned from them how to lose battles by diligently imitating their methods. Well, we are not Christians enough to love our enemies, but we are human enough to be ashamed of the pitiful meanness in which those images of God are sunk.

Official science, though it is wedded to the doctrines of the state, has long ago been forced to renounce the idea of the eternity and immutability of the present social order. And the human mind cannot conceive of any other reorganization of society than that preparing in the sign of Socialism. The essential theory of capitalism, that of the Manchester men—which at least represented a logical system—has no longer any room in the life of this world. Every one, who is not a tyrant without any judgment in politics, laughs at the cobweb of the bourgeois and middle-class savans.

Before our very eyes a gradual transformation of capitalism is taking place. The trusts have established the communion of mankind, the co-operative movement and municipal capitalism furnish fresh proofs every day

MORE ABUSES.

Socialist Papers Withheld from Subscribers and Destroyed.

Evidence Received from Connecticut and New Jersey that Postmasters Deliberately Withhold Copies of The Worker—Subscribers Must Aid Us in Stopping the Abuse.

When the National Economic League entered the field, a few months ago, with the ostensible purpose of checking the progress of Socialism by a "campaign of education," we had reason to say that Postmaster General Payne would give it active assistance. Our readers know how the power of the government has been abused, through Third Amendment Madison, to deprive Socialist newspapers of the second-class mail privilege—"Whitire's Magazine," the "Seattle Socialist," the "Coming Nation," and several other papers having been put to great inconvenience and expense by its criminal partiality. Madden, of course, did not know the temper of Socialists. His attempts to kill our papers had the ultimate effect of increasing their circulation. But it is not his fault that a Russian censorship has not yet been successfully established.

Local Press Censorship.

It now appears that the postoffice authorities are playing another trick, a smaller and quieter one, with the same purpose in view. Two weeks ago The Worker printed the following communication from a Connecticut contributor:

"The free, independent, American citizens of Southington, Conn., are afraid to have a Socialist paper sent to them because the postmaster, Mr. Homer, is brother-in-law of the Keeney brothers who own the principal local manufacturing company. Subscribers to Socialist papers having failed to get their papers regularly, one young fellow had courage enough to go to the postoffice and ask why the paper which he had paid for did not come, and he received the reply: 'Yes, it comes every week but we did not think you wanted such a paper, so we put it in the basket.'"

A Second Instance.

Although this letter suggested an explanation of rather frequent complaints from subscribers as to the non-receipt of the paper in cases where we knew the papers had been mailed in right order, we waited for further evidence. We did not have long to wait. This week we have received the following statement from John G. Sinclair of East Orange, N. J.:

"This is to certify that I have not received the newspaper called The Worker for weeks at a time. About seven weeks ago I complained to the letter-carrier, who was new on the route, and I was informed that three papers for me lay at the office. Later he told me they had been destroyed. This seems strange, as I have lived here seven years and my name and address were on the papers. It is now four weeks since I have had a paper. In the words of Shakespeare, 'there is something rotten in the state of Denmark.'"

Help Us Stop the Abuse.

The Worker does not propose to allow any little autocrats of fourth-class postmasters, even though backed up by Madden, Payne, and Roosevelt himself, to come between us and our subscribers. We appeal to all our subscribers to help us in holding the postal authorities to their duty. If you fail to receive your paper, please notify us, giving your exact name and address as it appears or should appear on our lists and stating what issues have been missed. If the fault is in this office, it will be rectified with pleasure. If, on the contrary, it appears that the missing papers have been sent, we must have your assistance in exposing and putting a stop to the system of suppression. In such a case you should promptly make a definite complaint to your postmaster, demanding the regular and prompt delivery of all your mail, notify this office of your action, and if necessary, assist in conveying the protest to Washington as well as before the public.

The Postoffice is theoretically a public service. Practically it is today an agency of the capitalist class, because the workers have not learned to vote together against capitalism. We have to exercise eternal vigilance to prevent its abuse for the evil purposes of that class.

PEEKSKILL "RESPECTABLES"

WORK FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Trying to Suppress Our Agitation, They Succeed in Rousing Great Interest.

Eminent Citizens Object to Red Flag on Fieldman's Automobile and Boast that with Aid of Police They Will Stop Socialist Agitation—Trial in Better than a Party Mass Meeting—Court Room Packed with Citizens Who Hiss Prosecutors and Applaud Socialists.

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., July 18.—If the "eminent respectable citizens" and their police add political tools in other towns throughout the State will follow the example set here, the tour of Comrades Fieldman and Bloebod in the automobile "Torch Bearer" will certainly be a tremendous success, and the Social Democratic Party can well afford to pay the fines and costs that may ensue.

The Torch Bearer arrived in Peekskill Thursday forenoon. The banners and flags were put in place, and Fieldman, with Comrade Simmonds of this place, proceeded through the town to advertise the meeting to be held in the evening. The automobile with its decorations attracted a great deal of attention, and brought out such remarks as "I tell you, the Socialists are growing," and "The Social Democratic Party is the coming party."

As they proceeded along one of the main streets, two horses hitched to a stage took fright at the noise of the machine. Two men jumped to the horses' heads, another raised his hand signaling Fieldman to stop the automobile, which he instantly did. The Automobile Law merely requires an operator, in a case of this kind, to stop the motion of the vehicle. Fieldman not only did that, but stopped the motor, which is the chief factor in making a noise, and naturally the horses became quiet.

Story of the Arrest.

At this point a man in uniform, who turned out to be the Chief of Police, approached the automobile, and very insolently demanded to know "Who gave you the right to go through this town with those banners and flags?" Fieldman answered: "The right did not come from me, it came from the people. It is their right, and it is their duty, to have a better government than they have now. I am in a manner rougher than ever, shouted, 'Take them off or I will haul you in.'"

At this juncture a trolley car coming up, Fieldman had to move the machine to give room, and did so without frightening the horses. While he was so engaged, the Chief kept on insulting and threatening Fieldman with arrest, if the signs were not removed at once. Comrade Simmonds, to avoid trouble, had by that time loosened the traces which held the banner in place, and the signs complained of were practically out of the way, resting on the dash board.

An "Order-Loving" Citizen.

A large crowd had now gathered, and one man, pointing to the American flag, remarked: "That's all right, but that red flag don't belong there." Fieldman replied: "It does, and it will stay there." Thereupon, the individual, sprang to the automobile, grabbed the red flag, broke off the staff and threw the emblem on the ground. Fieldman, in a firm but quiet manner, informed the intruder that he had absolutely no right to touch anything on the auto, no matter how much he disapproved of what is displayed there. At this point the officer of the law, instead of protecting our property from this lawless citizen, grabbed Fieldman by the arm and said: "Go on, get that sign off, and be quick about it!" Fieldman replied that the signs were down, practically out of everyone's way but his own, and it should make no difference to him how they took to get them up. But the officer grew more insolent, which brought forth the remark from Fieldman: "Who are you, a man or Jesus Christ?" Thereupon the officer violently slapped Fieldman's face, grabbed him by the throat, and though no resistance was offered, called another officer and took him to jail, choking him with the right hand, and almost twisting his arm out of its socket with the left. As he went, the Chief indulged in a running monologue such as this: "The rail of you! I'm sorry I slapped your face, I should have battered in your skull for parading red flags through this town. I'll railroad you for this!" winding up with: "Now get in there and think it over," as he thrust Fieldman into a cell.

Comrade Simmonds immediately gave bail—fixed at \$500—to the charge of the Chief and the Police Judge who had evidently thought they had to do with a friendless stranger in town.

At the solicitation of the judge, who deprecated the delay involved in drawing a jury, Fieldman consented to waive jury trial—unfortunately, for his Honor deserves any name but that of "Justice." But perhaps we ought not to expect much of a superannuated Republican politician.

A large meeting was held that night, and the events of the day—especially the bragging of the Chief and his "eminent citizen" backers that they would send Fieldman up for three months and "give a lesson to these Socialists"—having created a lively interest.

The comrades decided to call in Henry L. Bloebod of New York, State Secretary of the Social Democratic Party, who appeared for Fieldman. When his Honor saw that Fieldman had counsel, he told the Chief to summon a lawyer, and he got L. F. Crumb, a leading Republican politician of the city.

Trial Good Propaganda.

The trial was better than a propaganda meeting. The bias of the judge,

DEBS SCORES SLANDERERS.

Evansville Politicians Are Blaming Socialists for Race Riot.

Do Not Dare to Support Their Accusation by Naming any Socialist as Implied—Slander Gives Opportunity for Debs to Declare Socialists' Opposition to Race Prejudices.

EVANSVILLE, Ind., July 17.—Some capitalist spokesmen, journalists and otherwise, of this place and elsewhere in this part of the country, have made a strenuous but ineffectual effort to put upon the Socialists of Evansville the responsibility for the recent disgraceful lynching and rioting episode.

Captain A. W. Dudley, commanding Company B, of the National Guard, if not the author of this outrageous slander, was at least the principal mouthpiece for those who devised it. He declared, and some of the papers gave prominent place to his statement, that the mob was led by Socialists. Called on to name the men or even one of them, he could not do so, but took refuge in the statement that the sister of one of the men shot by the militia admitted that her brother was a Socialist. Afterwards, pressed still further to substantiate his charge, he and his friends shifted their ground and said that the Socialists were not so much to blame, after all, but there were "Anarchists of the worst type!" In Evansville, who were responsible for the trouble. This is, of course, as baseless a fabrication as the other.

Eugene V. Debs has made a forcible reply to these slanderers through the columns of a local paper, bringing out the real facts of the case. He said, in part:

"If Captain Dudley is correctly quoted, he is an ass. As a matter of fact, not a single Socialist was connected, directly or indirectly, with the Evansville outrages. The Socialists are the only ones who recognize not merely the political and economic equality of the negro, but his social equality as well. Among Socialists there is not the slightest trace of race prejudice and to charge that they instigated the riotous crusade against the negroes in Evansville is an infamous calumny."

Dudley's Party to Blame.

"Instead of the Socialists the fact is that the rotten and vote buying political party to which Dudley belongs is responsible for these crimes. In the late municipal election at Evansville hundreds of negroes were imported from Kentucky to help elect the present Republican Mayor of that city. The negro whose murder of the policeman precipitated the conflict, was one of these. He was a Republican, the policeman was murdered was a Republican and the city officers for whom he acted as political plunger were also Republicans. After the election this negro felt that as one of the main props of the administration he could strut and swagger at will. This was the starting point of the present trouble which since then has been brewing and required only some spark to set it off. The whole trouble is the culmination of the negro as a factor in politics and, as is notoriously true, a corrupting factor, since he finds ready sale for his votes in the political market of Evansville. The Socialists never purchased a negro vote nor imported a negro vote to delug the politics and incite race war in Evansville. Will Dudley say the same for the party to which he belongs? In the light of these facts, who is responsible, the Socialists or they who seek by the cry of stop this to criminate them in order to divert attention from the consequences of their own crimes?"

Comrade Debs also warmly denounced the riotous attack upon the colored waiters at Linton, feeling that if it was true that union miners were involved in the affair, as alleged, they had proven false to the principles of their union as formulated by its conventions and by President Mitchell.

Miners Should Repent.

"It is generally understood that the mob at Linton was composed of union miners. I am not ready to believe this, but whoever it consisted of they merit unqualified condemnation. I am opposed to all forms of violence, but do not hesitate to give it as my opinion that if, in the absence of any effort on the part of the state to protect them, the negroes massed their forces and marched into Linton to resent the outrages perpetrated upon their people, they would be eminently justified in doing so. This, however, is not the way to proceed in such an extremity and the negroes do well to bear with patience and bide their time."

"The miners' union cannot afford to bear the odium of such an outrage and they owe it to themselves to disavow all connection with or responsibility for it. They can scarcely do less in view of the fact that their organization is appealing to the negroes of Kentucky and West Virginia to help them fight their battles. At this very hour President Mitchell is in Kansas assuring the negroes that the miners' union is their friend and proposes to recognize them on terms of equality."

"The Tribune," which has been the most active in the work of misrepresentation, was highly indignant in behalf of the militiamen whom, it said, Debs had attacked. It quoted some of the soldiers—without naming them—as saying that "it is just such men as Eugene V. Debs and such papers as they pub-

THE RED FLAG OF LABOR.

When that exceedingly respectable and law-abiding business man of Peekskill said on the witness stand that his reason for tearing down the red flag and casting it in the dust was that he regarded it with hatred and contempt as an emblem of Labor, he inadvertently—perhaps half unconsciously—told the exact truth.

That is exactly what the red flag is—an emblem of Labor. It is an emblem of Socialism, of Social Democracy, which is the same thing, because the Social Democratic Party is the party of the working class.

Just what does the red flag mean? Why does the organizer sent out by the Social Democratic Party carry it side by side with the Stars and Stripes? Why does it rightly stir the "eminent citizens" to wrath, and why does it rightly rouse the enthusiasm of the workers?

The red flag stands for internationalism. In every country of the civilized world it is known. It is the symbol of the identity of the interests of the toilers of all lands and the emblem of the ideal of universal human brotherhood which it is the historic mission of the toilers to realize.

But it is more than that. If it is the emblem of peace and fraternity between nations, it is also the emblem of conflict between classes in every nation where class rule exists.

The red flag stands for revolt, for revolution, for the intelligent revolt of the workers of the world against the world-wide system that keeps them in poverty, that condemns them to an inferior position, that makes traffic in their brain and muscle for the profit of a non-producing class. It stands for the determination of the subject class, the exploited class, the socially useful class, that they will cease to be subject and exploited.

As the symbol of an ideal, of a future for which we strive, the red flag stands for peace. As such it deserves the respect of all who put the general good above sordid personal gain.

As the emblem of a fact of to-day, it is that cause which we have had in Evansville.

An Overworked Phrase.

Debs replied in a further interview in Monday's "Gazette," saying:

"In what I had to say to the 'Gazette' I was specific. I quoted Captain Dudley and commented on his charge that Socialists were responsible for the Evansville riots. What had this to do with the soldiers? Is Captain Dudley the whole company? As a matter of fact, I did not even mention the soldiers and the charge that I made an attack upon them is not only untrue but foolish. The phrase 'soldier boys' is often made to do duty in such cases and has been so much overworked that it had better be given a rest. It is getting to be here almost like in Germany, where one cannot even criticize an army officer. In these later days any criticism of an individual who wears brass buttons is at once resented as an outrage upon the 'soldier boys,' an attack on the army," etc.

"I don't believe there is any indication among the soldiers because I represented a false and slanderous charge of one of their officers, but if there is I have no apology to make for it; and if the shoe fits any others for whom it was not intended they have my full consent to wear it."

"It so happens that I personally know the Socialists of Evansville and it also happens that I have quite recently been there and that I am familiar with the causes and conditions which culminated in the deplorable tragic events of a few days ago. Not a single Socialist was implicated, directly or indirectly, and any intimation to the contrary is untrue and does violence to the facts. This paper reiterates the charge of Captain Dudley that the ringleaders of the mob at Evansville were Socialists. Let this paper and Evansville are well known by the public officials and the newspapers of that city. If even a single ringleader had been a Socialist he would not only probable be certain that he would have been named and pilloried by the press?"

"The silly subterfuge that some by-steric woman has claimed that she has heard from some other woman that her cousin had told her that her brother, who was shot in the riot, was a Socialist is hardly the kind of testimony upon which to fasten a charge of crime upon a body of peaceable citizens and honest men."

"The indictment of Captain Dudley was no less than that of riot, bloodshed, and insurrection; he enumerated all others and placed the entire responsibility upon the Socialists and the Anarchists. As there are no Anarchists in Evansville, the Socialists came in for the brunt of the charge, and as all men would with many mean confessions of guilt, I entered denial and called for proof. And until this is furnished the author stands convicted and no amount of 'indignation' will alter the case. If the Socialists of Evansville are rioters and murderers, as charged, let them be not only named but brought out and punished according to their crimes."

"It will hardly do to say the police force of Evansville do not know who

FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.

Lithographers in Convention Declare for Recognition of Class Lines in Politics.

The national convention of the Lithographic Artists, Engravers and Designers' League of America, held at St. Louis, adopted by a heavy majority the following resolution:

"Whereas, past experience has demonstrated that the employing class controls legislation and the enforcement of laws by securing the election and appointment of legislators and officials who represent their interests; and

"Whereas, this has resulted in the enactment of laws detrimental to the welfare of the working class, or when enacted ostensibly for its benefit, emasculated at birth or rendered nugatory by non-enforcement or by being declared unconstitutional by the courts;

"Resolved, that this convention recommends to the working class united political action with the view to securing legislative, judicial and executive officials who will enact and enforce laws for its benefit and in its interest."

STEEL TRUST STILL EXPANDING.

The United States Steel Corporation has during the last few days made one more step toward its goal, the absorption of all the emulating independent plants that are worth taking in. It has acquired a half interest in the Clinton Steel Company of Pittsburgh, heretofore a subsidiary concern of the Crucible Steel Company; a fourth interest is retained by the Crucible, and the other quarter share is acquired by the Oliver Iron and Steel Company and W. F. Snyder. The Clinton property is valued at \$3,000,000. The transaction virtually transfers the Crucible and Oliver concerns from competitors into dependent partners of the big trust.

POLICE INTERFERENCE.

Authorities at the National Capital Trying to Stop Socialist Agitation.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 20.—Several times lately the police have interfered with Socialist street meetings here in an inexcusable manner, but much to the annoyance of the comrades. Our faithful Organizer, B. F. Adams, decided to make a test. Last Wednesday evening, soon after we had started, up came a "cop" and asked if we had a written permit. "Will you pardon me a minute?" said Comrade Adams politely. Then, stepping up on the box, he unrolled a sign which bore the inscription: "The constitutional guarantee of the people's right to freedom of speech and public assembly. The officer gazed in surprise, then ran for the captain. Comrade Adams continued to address an applauding crowd, setting forth the principles of Socialism and our determination to advocate them.

On Friday Comrade Adams was arrested on a charge of "obstructing the streets." Comrade Nesbitt promptly engaged an attorney and the case was taken up in the Police Court. The police seemed very weakened, as indicated by their failure to make the arrest Wednesday. We gave notice that we should insist on our right to hold street meetings. It was shown by witnesses that there was no obstruction of the street and the court reserved decision. We shall continue to hold meetings. "Something has dropped" in Washington—and it has not hit the Socialists.

PRICES STILL RISING.

The "Economist" figures for June show the average commodity prices higher than at any time since December, 1902, and except for 1900, at the highest point reached in the last twelve years. In comparison with 1902, which may be counted as the beginning of the present "era of prosperity"—undoubtedly prosperity for the capitalists—prices are now more than 5 per cent. higher than at that period.

LITERARY SOCIETY'S PICNIC.

The New York Socialist Society Holds its Annual Picnic on Saturday Afternoon and Evening, July 25, at Cypress Hills Park. Tickets may be had from any of the members or from the House Committee at the clubrooms, 222 East Broadway. One fourth of the net proceeds will go to the Daily Globe Fund and the remainder to carry on the educational and propaganda work of the society. This organization maintains clubrooms, which are open every evening and all day on Saturdays and Sundays, where abundant reading matter can be found and information about the movement will gladly be given to inquirers. The society carries on lecture courses during the winter and open-air meetings in the summer, and deserves the support of the comrades.

—Send 75 cents to the Socialist Literature Company, 124 William Street, New York, for a hundred copies of that new pamphlet containing "The Socialist View of the Waterbury Strike," "Real Race Politics," and "The Incentive."

RALLY TO RECEIVE MOTHER JONES!

Mass Meeting Will Be Held at Madison Square on Thursday Evening, July 23, to Protest Against Child Labor.

An open-air mass meeting to receive Mother Jones and the striking textile workers who have marched from Philadelphia with her, will be held under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party of New York City, on Thursday evening, July 23, on the Madison Avenue side of Madison Square.

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Mother Jones and her followers will parade from the Labor Lyceum in East Fourth Street to the place of meeting, where Mother Jones and a number of the best known Socialist speakers of New York will address the public on the horrors of child labor and indict the industrial system of which it is an inevitable product.

CHASE IN NEW YORK.

John C. Chase, Ex-Mayor of Haverhill, the first Socialist ever elected to the head of a municipality in the United States, is now with us for a short time in New York. On Wednesday last, July 22, he speaks with Mother Jones at Peckskill. On Thursday he speaks at Yonkers, on Friday at New Rochelle, on Saturday at Long Island City, and on Monday evening, July 27, in Brooklyn at the Labor Lyceum, 640-657 Willoughby Avenue. Comrade Chase will no doubt have large and attentive audiences, especially in Peekskill, where the arrogant attempt of the "eminent citizens" and their official hangers-on to suppress Socialist agitation has awakened a lively interest in the subject.

CLASS WORKERS STRUGGLE.

The New York locals of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America have retained Comrade Hill and Salisbury as counsel to defend them against an injunction obtained by the Remond Barba Company, of Light Street, New York City. Eight hundred men have been on strike since June 18 and there have been very few scabs. There are many active Socialists in this organization, teaching their fellow workers that the only adequate answer to capitalist injustices is a Socialist ballot.

—If you want to see injunctions issued—and enforced—to prevent local bosses from importing scabs, elect Socialist judges and executive officials,

TO THE MAN IN THE STREET.

FIGURES, FIGURES, FIGURES.

By Henry L. Slobodin.

Are you a Socialist? No? Are you then a capitalist? No? Ah, you are a workman. A working man, but not a Socialist. You do not believe in these wild ideas about sharing out, do you? It would surprise you to know that Socialists do not propose sharing out in the way you suppose. They protest against the sharing out which goes on to-day, by which those who do all the work—those who produce all the necessary and useful things in the world—the hardiest and meanest live, wear the worst clothes, have the poorest and scantiest food, dwell in the meanest and foulest dwellings, in the dirtiest and worst-lighted streets, and in every way enjoy the very least of all they produce, while those who do no useful work at all, who are mere parasites living upon the labor of the workers, live lives of riotous luxury and enjoy the best of everything.

What is the kind of sharing out which goes on to-day, and against which Socialists protest as being a most unjust and irrational arrangement?

But the Socialists do more than protest. They set to work to enquire and discover how these things can be better. It is that those who do all the work should obtain a little for themselves of what they produce, while those who produce nothing should enjoy so much.

And the result of their enquiries is to discover that you, the workman, are a mere slave.

What? You say a free man and not a slave? There are no slaves in this country?

What is a slave? One who works at the bidding of another, and only by permission of another, and for the profit of that other.

Does not that fit your case exactly? Do you work when you like and idle when you like? No? You work when the capitalist requires your labor, when your services will be useful in making a profit for him. When that is not the case you can starve in the gutter, although there may be all the necessities of life in profusion around you. These things do not belong to you, although you and your class have made them; they are so much wealth which your masters have acquired from your unpaid labor, things which you have never paid, out of which you have been swindled by the natural operation of the system of wage-slavery of which you are the unconscious victim.

Now mark this: In every community where the whole of the people do not own and control the means of production there is slavery, because that portion of the people which has no ownership or control over the means of production is absolutely dependent for its very existence upon the class which does own the means of production. The class which owns the means of production in this, and in all civilized countries, is the

capitalist class. It is only by permission of this class that you can work and live; and the condition upon which this class permits you to work and live, is that in return for your work you shall receive sufficient to keep you alive so that you can go on working in the state to which you are accustomed, and that all over and above that shall belong to the capitalist class. Are you not, then, a slave?

From this condition of things there is escape, while the whole of the people do not, either individually or collectively, own the means of production. Nothing but the abolition of the class ownership of the means of life, and the substitution of either the individual or collective ownership by the whole people will abolish this form of slavery.

Now Socialists recognize that we cannot go back to individual ownership; the idea of a man owning his own railway, his own shipping lines, and so on, is as absurd as to only need to be stated to show the impossibility of individual ownership by the whole people, as users of the means of production. All these things are today owned collectively and used socially. But it is the collective ownership of a class, and not of the whole community, and the social use or work of these things does not extend to the appropriation of the product. The work of production is socialized. The working people work together in an organized manner; the labor of thousands, in some instances, being devoted to the production of a single article. But, although the work of production is socialized, the things produced are not the property of those who produce them, but of the class which owns the means of production. But this collectivization of the means of production, although it be at present but collectivization in the hands of a class, shows us the way we have to go, the line of the social development. This socialization of production shows us that the next step must be in the direction of socializing the product—making it social common property. If the means of production, the land, the mines, the railways, the factories, can be collectively owned by a class, managed for that class and worked for its profit by agents, it is quite clear that they could be collectively owned by the whole people, managed in the interest of the whole people, and the work of production be carried on for the benefit of the whole people and not for the profit of any class and the capitalist class.

But this collectivization of the means of production, although it be at present but collectivization in the hands of a class, shows us the way we have to go, the line of the social development. This socialization of production shows us that the next step must be in the direction of socializing the product—making it social common property. If the means of production, the land, the mines, the railways, the factories, can be collectively owned by a class, managed for that class and worked for its profit by agents, it is quite clear that they could be collectively owned by the whole people, managed in the interest of the whole people, and the work of production be carried on for the benefit of the whole people and not for the profit of any class and the capitalist class.

Don't you think, fellow workman, that your interest lies in the direction of Socialism; that you ought to be a Socialist and to help us in our efforts to achieve the realization of Socialism and the abolition of wage-slavery?

Justice.

"Die Zukunft" ("The Future") is a Jewish Socialist monthly published in New York and edited by Comrade B. Feigenbaum. Its April issue contains an interesting article. The author is evidently a master of Hebrew-Yiddish and signs himself Itzhak (Isaac in Hebrew), the son of — etc. The author of the article and name will not take amiss my referring to him as merely Isaac.

Isaac has culled the election returns of various districts and has done some good work. For Isaac is a statistician of no mean order. Under his command the figures march in battalions and squadrons and confound the simple reader with most startling evolutions. It is evident that Isaac has taken great pains to prove his contention, but, evidently handicapped by a preconceived notion, he proves a great deal without, however, convincing.

Isaac undertakes a painstaking inquiry into the origin, address and destination of the vote, and, finally, he tries to prove that it is a Populist vote. He also sets out roaming over our wide and broad land in quest of all sorts of districts where the Socialists are in control of the balance of power between the Republican and the Democratic parties. He notes carefully each such district and announces to the Socialists what they could do if they were not such "immature souls."

Let us, dear reader, follow the peregrinations of Isaac from state to state and let observation to observation and comment to comment.

We find Isaac in the state of Colorado musing over the loss of the state by the Democrats and that the Republicans elected two congressmen owing to the growth of the Socialist vote. Suppose this is so. Does this fact distress Isaac? If it does, I herewith charitably offer some consoling suggestions.

If Isaac will consult his authority, the World Almanac, he will find that the Republicans carried Colorado every election from 1876 till 1890 and no Socialist vote to help them. For Isaac firmly believes that the 7,300 Socialist votes would have been cast for the Democratic party. Why? Is it because the Democratic platform is more Socialistic than the Republican platform? Isaac does not say so.

Because, he says, "the Populists fused with the Democrats, and in this state at least, the Socialist vote came from the Populists." Did it, really? Perhaps it did; perhaps it did not. The Republican party was in the minority in Colorado during the last ten years, and every Socialist worker will tell Isaac that a minority party will, other things being equal, yield a richer harvest to Socialist propaganda than the party in power. Hence Isaac's contention stands in need of more proof.

In Montana the Socialist Party received 10 per cent. of the total vote. The Populist received in 1902 7,334 votes and the state went Republican. After this the Populist party fused with the Democratic party. Isaac remarks in another place that if the parties do not fuse, the voters make fusion on their own account. But here was a case where the parties fused and the rebellious voters declined to come up and vote. Instead, the Republicans again assuming that the Socialist voters would consent to "stay sold."

As a result of his peregrinations, Isaac arrives at the conclusion that the Socialist Party holds the balance of power and may decide who shall be president of the United States—a Republican or a Democrat. A clearer application of Isaac's statistical abilities would have shown him that his conclusion is erroneous. The states in which the Socialist Party held the balance of power in 1902 are Colorado, California, Montana, New York, Massachusetts, and Oregon. But in 1900 Colorado went Democratic by 30,000; California went Republican by over 40,000; Montana went Democratic by over 12,000; New York went Republican by over 140,000; Oregon went Republican by over 13,000; and Massachusetts went Republican by 81,908. Elections go by much heavier vote in presidential years than in off years. So, you see, nothing remains of the proposition that the Socialist vote could tip the scales of a presidential election. If we are to sell out either to Republicans or to Democrats, let us be honest about it and not attempt to sell a gold brick.

Isaac has written a long article to prove:

First: That the Socialist Party holds the balance of power in presidential elections.

Second: That the Socialist Party can elect a President, if it were so minded. Not that Isaac advises it to do so, but he just sticks a pin on the map whenever he discovers a promising spot.

Isaac is too timid. He should come out into the open and say what he wants. Fusion with the Democrats? The party has dealt too harshly with the fusionists. They are all scared and speak and write in a censored style. This leads to worse confusion than open advocacy of fusion. Isaac should insist on his right to express his views. He need not fear. We promise him our support.

Third: That the increased Socialist vote was gained from the Populists.

There were elements in the Populist movement which the Socialists set out to gain and did gain. These were proletarians who were carried away in the Populist current. But they were not the determining factor in the Populist movement. On the contrary, they were merely suffered in the Populist party and they parted company on one of the Populist reactionary issues—the money issue. These proletarian trade-unions are the only Populists that the Socialist Party can, for a long time to come, expect to enlist, and these are the only Populists that the Socialist Party should, for the time being, care to enlist in great numbers. But, if we except these elements, it devolves upon

Isaac to prove either that the Populist party was a proletarian party or that the Socialist Party is an agrarian party and that Socialism is easier propagated among farmers than among workingmen—if he proves that, his statistics are superfluous. If he fails to prove that, his statistics have no sense.

Isaac achieved indifferent success in what he set out to prove—that the Socialist vote was gained from the Populists. The pertinent question arises: What object had Isaac in view in endeavoring to prove this? Isaac fails to state his motive or object and leaves it to inference. However, the inference is made plain by the general trend of the article, namely, that there must be a rapprochement between the Socialist Party and whatever is still extant of the Populist movement.

The trend of Isaac's argument becomes illuminating when we consider it in the light of a deduced tendency that makes itself noticeable in certain quarters of the Socialist movement—a tendency to trace a direct connection between the Socialist and Populist movements, to view and treat the Socialist movement as a direct descendant of and legitimate heir to the Populist movement. This, what may be termed Populist tendency in the Socialist movement, is of great concern to the Socialist as it is of interest to the student.

It is not our purpose to analyze or criticize this tendency at this time. What is to be noted here is merely the concerted endeavor to underline and emphasize the alleged identity of Populist elements and the Socialist elements, of Populist principles and Socialist principles. The fact that the Populist party was a party of, by and for farmers and the Socialist Party is a party of, by and for proletarians, could not be gained. Our friends were not so discomfited. Nothing daunted, they turn the farmer about and exclaim in tones, betraying a sudden but pleasant discovery, "Why, he is a proletarian!" And then another turn of the farmer and another joyful exclamation, "Why, he is a class-conscious!" And again a turn, "Why, he is a revolutionary!" The farmer himself, so far as it is known, does not at all lay claim to the title of a revolutionary. He is not a farmer, but our friends were angry if you deny it to him. A Western comrade writes that the farmers are concerned lest the working class—mean those who work for hire (the definition has become necessary for some Socialists)—may prove too revolutionary, enough. We are yet to hear from the farmers themselves on the subject. But comrades who are not farmers dub the farmers into revolutionary, class-conscious proletarians. For instance, a prominent class-conscious proletarian, a farmer, made in a speech delivered recently in Cooper Union substantially the following statement: "There are out in the West five hundred thousand Populists who turned from the Democratic party and are no more Democrats, who turned from the Republican party and are no more Republicans. All that is necessary is to explain to them what Socialism is and THEY WOULD NOT HAVE TO CHANGE ONE TINY WORD, ONE IDEA, TO BE SOCIALISTS."

Here again the identity of Populism and Socialism is emphasized. If Socialism and Populism are identical we should be indebted to the comrades for pointing out this fact. If they are not, then the comrades in question cannot learn this fact too soon.

Only a few words about the agrarian problem. Socialists are wont to speak in terms of contempt of the small shopkeepers, tradesmen, etc. This tone of mind does not do at all in speaking of the farmers of our country. Their numbers, not to mention the sturdy independence of their character, constitute them a vast social and political force that must be reckoned with as a great factor in all theories of economic and political revolutions. The Socialist Party will some day face the problem and, I believe, will be able to cope with it. But I also think that the problem is not before us at the present moment. Among the 300,000 Socialist votes, among the 200,000 party members, how many farmers are there? Why then this premature and immature claim that the farmer is a class-conscious, revolutionary proletarian; that the Socialist Party should receive the farmer with open arms? Where are the farmers that clamor for admission to the Socialist Party?

Another feature of the tendency in question may be pointed out. The same people who emphasize the identity of Socialism with Populism usually enlarge on the alleged incompatibility and irreconcilability of the Eastern and Western world. They call it they are very vague about it—temperament, method, etc. The Socialist principle of the identity of the whole country, of all countries, is relegated to the rear, but instead there is a constant harping kept up on how the East and the West are going to show the East and all that sort of twaddle. Though a new argument is being advanced, it is nevertheless a threadbare one. It has been worked by the Populists through many seasons and campaigns. In justice to the Populists it must be stated that in referring to East they usually meant the Eastern capitalists. It remained for some Socialists to improve on the Populists and, in speaking disparagingly of the East, refer not to the capitalists of the East, but to Eastern proletarians and even to Eastern Socialists. In their haste to turn Populism into Socialism, the farmer into a proletarian, they become more Populist than the Populists.

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STATE SECRETARY WHITE'S APPRECIATION.

Here is what Dan A. White, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, says of the usefulness of this paper:

To the Editor of The Worker.

Dear Comrade—I feel it my duty to say a word in appreciation of your valuable paper. I realize that each of the Socialist papers is doing a great work in its way for the cause, but I feel that The Worker should be in the hands of every member of the Socialist Party. As a medium of party news it is, in my mind, indispensable, and the clear-cut able editorials in defense of Socialism should be read by everyone interested in the cause. I feel that the circulation of The Worker among the comrades of the state of Massachusetts will help our movement beyond power to express.

Fraternally yours,

DAN A. WHITE, Secretary.

It is the ideal of The Worker to be at once the best paper for Socialist propaganda and the best paper for the education of party members—that these two functions are not inconsistent but inseparably connected. If The Worker deserves the warm commendation given by Secretary White, it is but just to say that the credit belongs as much to our army of correspondents and contributors in the rank and file of the party as to the publishers and editors.

We ask the comrades everywhere to co-operate in extending the field of usefulness of The Worker and can safely promise them that the quality of its service will be improved in proportion.

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TO SUBSCRIBERS.
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The Worker

AGENTS, ATTENTION!
Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.—NO. 18.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 2, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

THE LOCKOUT IN SWEDEN.

Employers Bent on Destroying the Unions.

Mechanists' Union No. 323 States the Case and Outlines Its History—Part of an International Attack—Calls for International Resistance.

Local Union No. 323 of the International Association of Machinists—a local composed largely of Swedish-born machinists in Brooklyn—has taken the lead in calling for support from this country for the victims of the general lockout of the trade in Sweden. It should be remembered that this attack upon the labor movement in that country is not an isolated one. It is part of an international attack organized by the capitalist class, which has shown itself within the last few months, as reported from time to time in *The Worker*, in lockouts and adverse legislation and court decisions in England, in Holland, in Norway, in Australia, in Canada, and last but not least, in the United States. The workers of all lands may well bear in mind the motto: "United we stand, divided we fall."

To Be or Not to Be.

We reproduce entire the circular issued by Local 323, which gives a clear account of the trouble and of the events leading up to it.

"To the International Association of Machinists and Each and Every Member Thereof, Greeting:

"To be or not to be, that is the question—for the organizations of the Iron and Metal Workers of Sweden. Suddenly and without warning, or without leaving proper time for any kind of negotiations, the Manufacturers' Association of Sweden has thrown out from 15,000 and 20,000 of the organized Iron and Metal Workers there—the first blow being dealt to all the organized Metal and Iron Workers in the Province of Scania June 28, and the second savage blow being dealt to all the associations over the whole country July 4, at 12 o'clock—this information having been received by the Swedish labor press, from letters received from the organized Iron Workers' headquarters in Sweden, and from three cablegrams so far, we have it plain that there is to be a life and death struggle between organized labor and organized capital in Sweden just now. The brutal, greedy and blood-thirsty hand of organized capital is on the throat of organized labor, and it is to be a fight to the finish.

"Never before in the history of organized labor in Sweden has any of the labor unions taken recourse to the desperate move of calling across the waters an appeal for help or financial aid from their comrades in America. This in itself is a plain-speaking sign as to the magnitude and the importance of, as well as the outlook in, the present struggle.

History of the Trouble.

"In order to more clearly understand the situation, let us remember: "First—That there is no universal suffrage in Sweden, and that the laws, therefore, are all against the laboring class, and that certain phases of organization work in made a crime and is punishable by fines and up to two years' imprisonment, the most outrageous of these laws being the so-called 'Apartheid Law.' "Second—That the organized laborers of Sweden have been pressing the question of universal suffrage and have been planning for a general strike in 1904, in order to at that time force the Riksdag to pass a law according to that demand.

"Third—That the Metal and Iron Workers Union has been and is the backbone of organized labor in Sweden, and that this is the very reason why the lately well-organized Manufacturers' Association (with the aid of manufacturers in other branches) have determined to break this backbone to pieces in order to prevent the laboring class from coming forward in any manner whatever. Thus it will be seen that although the present struggle is in name a struggle over the right of laborers to organize, there also is an element of political interest and of the class struggle in the larger sense at the bottom of it.

"There has been of late an unusually large number of conflicts in the various branches, and in all cases the employers have shown a determination to ignore and do away with the organizations. As a consequence of these many smaller conflicts the funds are in a bad shape all around. And it is after this preparatory work that the Manufacturers' Association has deemed the time just ripe for aiming the decisive blow at the Metal and Iron Workers' Union, and in this move the manufacturers also have the revolting meanness to calculate an advantage from the deplorable fact that the larger part of Northern Sweden is a famine-stricken country, where surely no one can contribute with a single cent to any funds needed by the throw-out laborers, and where the manufacturers further are expected to see some poor hungry men come down to the door as strike-breakers and scabs.

"Nothing to Arbitrate."

"The present lock-out came as a species result of eight union men (members) going on a strike after having been asked for a raise in their pay from \$5.00 (about 10 cents) to \$5.50 per hour, which was the price (shamelessly small as it is) paid at other establishments in the surrounding district. The employer did not want to discuss the matter. He simply referred it to the president and management of the Manufacturers' Association. The result was an ultimatum to the effect that no raise in pay was to be for a moment spoken about and that the eight members should return to work within a time so short that there was no time even to decide on the matter at the respective unions' headquarters. And so the lock-out went into effect according to the Manufacturers' Association's ultimatum, first in Scania, as before stated, and a few days later over the whole country.

"Thus it will be seen that the largest trade union in Sweden is thrown into this, the largest conflict it has yet had, under conditions the most favorable to the capitalists and the most unfavorable to the organized workers. "And another thing: The manufacturers, who are now so brutally trying to introduce famine in the ranks of organized labor, have calculated that an eventual appeal to the Swedish-American population would meet with no response just now, owing to the fact that the Swedish-Americans have already been used to the utmost by appeals for the relief of the famine-stricken part of Sweden. Large funds have gone across for said purpose last winter and spring, and these funds are in the hands of state officials in Sweden, and serve there as a two-edged sword in the war now begun.

"But situations like this are just the situations that demonstrate the worth and value of the spirit of universal brotherhood and international spirit of the struggle between capital and labor anywhere and everywhere.

The Great Danish Lockout.

"Only a few years ago a similar attack was made on organized labor in Denmark. That fight was also to be a fight to the finish, but it was not the employers that came out victorious. The victory of organized labor in Denmark was, however, the result of outside help—international contributions, and the Swedish Iron Workers did their good part.

"When the capitalists—a strong and relentless body of lords of industry like the Manufacturers' Association of Sweden—declare war under such circumstances as are now present in Sweden, there is absolutely no other saving power than international help. And the cry for brotherly assistance in such dark hours ought to go straight to the heart of every comrade appealed to. Small organized labor be struggled in Sweden! That is the question. The capitalists there grind their teeth and say yes; the spectacle of tens of thousands of famine-stricken people looks like a yes; the state officials who hold the funds gathered for the starving masses say yes. May brothers back of the foolishly attacked organized workmen say No! May their comrades in this country speak out their No in a way that will settle the question for good.

Money Well Spent.

"And let us bear in mind that money used this way is money put in good keeping. Some day it will be needed where it came from and it will return with blessings.

NEW YORK STATE.

Arm and Torch Will Be in the Third Column.

Social Democratic Party Ticket Assured of Third Column on Official Ballot—Socialist Agitation All Over the State.

In reply to an inquiry, the following communication was received from the office of the Secretary of State: "Henry L. Bloch, Secy., Secretary of the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party:

"Dear Sir:—In reply to your letter of the 18th instant, we advise you that the Social Democratic Party is entitled to the third column on the official ballot. "Respectfully yours,

"HURACE G. TRIMM, "Second Deputy Secretary of State."

Our position as the third party on the ballot as well as in fact is thus assured, and this fact should be constantly used in propaganda speaking, both to impress the public with our growth and to make sure that every voter intending to vote for Socialism marks his ballot in the right column.

Automobile Fund.

State Secretary Bloch acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for the Automobile Fund: "Previously acknowledged, \$8,500; 24 A. D. N. Y. List 50; 30 A. D. N. Y. List 40; 310; Local Richmond, \$5; Local Peekskill, List 72, \$2,800; Local Peekskill, List 73, 70 cents; George Orandorf, Batavia, \$1; F. M. Dennis, Albany, \$2; H. Peters, \$1; Local Ticonderoga, List 13, \$1,250; Local Corning, List 100, \$5; W. Loomis, 50 cents; W. P. 25 cents; H. H. H. 13th and 14th A. D. Brooklyn, \$10; 20th A. D. Brooklyn, \$5; L. D. Abbott, \$5. Total donations, \$14,265. Loan \$100. Grand total, \$24,265.

Contributions for this fund should be sent to Henry L. Bloch, State Secretary, 64 East Fourth Street, New York.

Feldman's Tour.

Comrade Feldman and Roever left Peekskill in the automobile on Monday, July 20, and held their next meeting in Highland Falls on Tuesday. The red flag of Socialism again affected the hearts of some of the politicians of the village, and as the meeting proceeded several giant fire-crackers were exploded near the machine. When one was placed between Feldman's feet, he told his tormentors: "There are five gallons of gasoline in this machine, and if you want to take a quick trip to the moon, just keep on with your explosion." Upon this interesting information, he was allowed to continue speaking un molested.

The next stop was at Middletown, where two very enthusiastic meetings were held, much literature being sold and subscriptions taken. On the way out of Middletown the tires on the "Torch-Bearer" gave out, and so the two automobile agitators will have to stay in Middletown until they get tired. Meetings will be held every evening until new tires arrive from New York. When the machine is repaired the next stop will be Port Jervis; then probably Newburgh.

In Westchester.

Local New Rochelle will hold a primary convention on Thursday, July 30, at 8 P. M., at headquarters, 10 Meacham street, where a full city ticket will be nominated, and a municipal platform adopted. The comrades in New Rochelle are warming up and hope to elect an Alderman or two at the coming election.

Chase's meeting in Peekskill on Wednesday, July 22, was the most successful Socialist meeting ever held in that village, despite a hard rain earlier in the evening. The official brutality shown to Comrade Feldman and the interest aroused by his trial made the people eager to hear more about Socialism, and Chase knows how to tell it to them.

At the last regular meeting, Local Troy elected the following officers: Organizing and Literature Agent, Harry A. Romaine; Recording Secretary, Wm. Wainlock; Corresponding Secretary, Louis Wolf; Treasurer, Nelson Wagner.

The Rev. H. W. Smith of East Peabody, Mass., spent a week during July carrying on agitation in Sullivan County, and reports much interest and sympathy throughout the region.

The Socialists of Catskill have sustained a great loss in the recent death of Jas. G. Doll. Comrade Doll was an active and faithful worker, who commanded the profound respect of the comrades by his devotion to the cause and his untiring work in the party. For his untiring work in the party, Comrade Doll will be taken up by Geo. H. Warner, who may be addressed at 438 Main street.

In Western New York.

F. H. Van Auker has been elected Organizer of Local Rochester to succeed Geo. W. Misché, who, as his successor writes, has discharged all his duties of the office during his term with credit to himself and great advantage to the party. Local Rochester, says Comrade Van Auker, was never in more prosperous condition than now. Applications for membership are being received in goodly numbers at each meeting. The Rochester Social Democratic Party propose to storm the citadel of capitalism at the coming city election. A full city and county ticket will be put in the field and the comrades are sure that the faithful and spirited champion of the workers' interests, Frank A. Steverman, will be the next representative of the Seventeenth Ward in the Common Council. In fact, they expect, at the least, to carry the whole ticket in this ward and to elect an Alderman in the

WILL STAND FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

Washington Socialists Will Contest Authority of District Officials to Forbid Outdoor Meetings.

The comrades of Washington are determined, at whatever cost, to establish their right to hold open-air meetings for the discussion of Socialism, in spite of the stubborn opposition of the authorities, who insist on treating every meeting held in the open air as a "disturbance of public order." Their determination is expressed in the following letter:

"To the Chief of Police, Washington, D. C.

"Sir:—Owing to the fact that there are no parks, open spaces, sand-lots, or public matters or peacefully to assemble and petition government for redress of grievances; and owing to the fact that men in our organization, Local Washington of the Socialist Party of the United States, being labored with the knowledge of their right and the duty to do so, attempt to tell what they know, and attempt to present a petition to the government—that is, the people; and owing to the fact that they have been suppressed in their attempt to present their petition—they will do it anyhow, and as they have done me the honor to elect me as their Organizer, you may hold me responsible for any violation of the district ordinances. I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"B. F. ADAMS, "Organizer of Local Washington, Socialist Party of America."

APPEAL AND WARNING.

Aid Asked for the Blacklisted Dutch Workers, Victims of International Conspiracy Against the Labor Movement.

"Justice," the organ of the Social Democratic Federation in London, prints an appeal for aid for the victims of the recent general strike and lock-out in Holland, which we would bring to the attention also of the American workers.

"The National Committee which has been formed in Holland to aid the victims of the late general strike, solicits the assistance of all English men and women who sympathized with the resistance of the Dutch workers against the strike laws.

"The funds are nearly exhausted and 1,200 persons must be helped every week unless they are to starve. The employers have determined to take no strike back and 2,000 men are still locked out.

"It must be remembered that the Dutch workers have only declared a general strike when every other means had failed in the defence of their common rights of free men and citizens.

"Not only in Holland, but in all countries the attempt is being made, or has already become law, as in Victoria (Australia) and New Zealand, to rob the workers of their last weapon in their fight against capital by making labor strikes illegal and liable to severe punishment.

"Let all who love liberty and human progress remember these signs of international reaction and unite to help the Dutch workers who fell victims in a courageous resistance against a reactionary Clerical government.

"All donations should be sent to A. W. Ammerlaan, President of the National Committee, 164 Houtengracht, Amsterdam."

MILLIONAIRES DIVIDING THE WORKINGMEN.

The semi-annual Johnson-Hanna fight begins next week, when Mayor Tom starts his "red devil" down through the Medina woods. All the workingmen of the state are supposed to line up for either one or the other of these quarrelling millionaires and fight each other at the polls next November. Much the same conditions exist in other states. In Pennsylvania it is a fight between Quay and anti-Quay millionaires; in New York between Tom Platt and Chauncey Depew divide labor with the Hill-Whitney-Tammam millionaires; in Delaware the multi-millionaire gas magnate, Addicks, is opposed by single plutocrats; in Maryland the millionaire Senator Gorman divides the labor vote with local plutocrats; in West Virginia the millionaire Senator Clark works the same trick with wealthy scab-procuring mine operators; in Michigan the Blaine-Archer millionaires run things in opposition to rich rings on the other side; in Indiana Senator Fairbanks, the millionaire presidential aspirant, is opposed by wealthy bosses; in Illinois the millionaire mayor of Chicago, Harrison, battles for supremacy with the Hopkins-Yates crowd of plutocrats; in Colorado the millionaire mine-owners are about equally divided in the game to lead labor to the polls; in Montana, the multi-millionaire Clark and Helms work the same trick with wealthy scab-procuring mine operators; in Nevada the millionaire Senators Stewart and Jones and Congressman Newland's worst scab-conspirators and the same conditions exist in nearly every state in the Union. What a spectacle for the gods—Charles Owen.

THE CAPITALIST PRESS.

The managing editor disappeared through the door leading to the business manager's office. "I am ready for instructions," said the E.

"All right. Don't say anything about the Consolidated Oil Company. We've just sold a block of our stock to its president."

"All right."

"Remain discreetly silent concerning the Union Traction Company franchise deal, for we expect to be let in on the ground soon."

"All right."

"We are preparing to trade some of our treasury stock for a block of stock in the United States Iron Company, so avoid any reference to its business."

"All right."

"And some of our leading stockholders are interested in the new trust that is combining our gas plants and trying to get hold of the municipal water plants. Don't say anything about it."

"All right."

Two hours later the foreman there held his hand to the managing editor's hat.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Syracuse Molders Get a Taste of Capitalist Law.

Three Strikers Fined and Imprisoned for "Contempt of Court"—The Bosses and Prosecutors Did Not Dare Try Them Before a Jury.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., July 27.—Considerable excitement has been caused here, and some people brought to think seriously about the labor question by the application of injunction law this week against the striking molders. Hiram Powers, John Lilla, and Otto Benz, striking molders from the Stearns shop, were found guilty of contempt of court last Friday by Justice William S. Andrews by his continuation of the report of William J. Tracy, who heard the motion for contempt of court in reference. Powers was fined \$75, and sentenced to serve thirty days; Lilla, \$50 and thirty days, and Benz was fined \$50.

It is not necessary to take up the question whether, as alleged by the employers, these men were guilty of using "terror and violence" in their efforts to keep scabs out of the strike shop, or whether they actually confined themselves to persuasion and moral influence. The question of the guilt or innocence of these particular men on this particular charge, however, is the really more important point that they have been convicted and sentenced to fine and imprisonment upon jury trial. This is the explanation of the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes and the prosecution of strikers for "contempt of court" instead of for ordinary offenses under the common or statute law.

This is the way it works: A strike or lockout is declared. The authorities, no matter what effort to deter workers from striking in the strike or lockout shop. By simply stating the facts in the case to seekers for employment and showing them that if they go to work in this shop they would be doing a wrong to their brothers, the "pickets" succeed in preventing the "unfair" employer from manning his shop with strike-breakers. The boss then raises a cry, which the capitalist papers readily support, about "violence and intimidation," "murder and arson running riot," and the like. He gets an injunction from a servile judge against the strikers. Then, even though the pickets observe the law and the injunction to the letter, he accuses them of having violated the order by the use of violence. They are arrested, and instead of being tried by a "jury of their peers," according to the guarantee of the United States Constitution, they are hauled up before the judge himself or, worse yet, before a referee appointed by him, who renders his arbitrary and irresponsible decision on the question of fact as well as of law, and earns the favor of the eminently respectable boss by sending the accused men "over the road."

If these three men were guilty of using violence or intimidation, the ordinary processes of the law furnish ample means of proving it before a jury and bringing them to punishment. The fact that the ordinary processes of the law are put aside in order to prevent their having the benefit of trial by jury fully justifies us in assuming that the men were innocent—that the bosses and the prosecuting authorities did not dare to attempt to prove their guilt before a trial jury.

If this sort of thing is to continue, justice becomes a mockery and a by-word. Let the workingmen of Syracuse protest against this abrogation of their dearest rights by voting for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party, the only party that frankly and consistently stands as the champion of the working class and can therefore be trusted to sweep away such abuses.

LABOR-DISPLACING MACHINERY.

No sooner are the window glass workers displaced by a machine when another branch of the trade is hard hit. After many months of ceaseless experimenting, Ball Bros. of Muncie, Ind., have completed an automatic machine which, it is claimed, will soon be the means of throwing every white House glass presser in the country out of employment. The machine is an automatic cutter and presser, and does away entirely with the presser and leaves but one man to operate the entire machine. About one hundred men will be thrown out of work in Ball Bros' plant, and four other concerns have already applied for the new device. Boys will run the new machines.

An experiment that may also revolutionize the iron and steel industry of the country and displace thousands of miners and metal workers was successful in the plant of the Valley Iron Company, in St. Paul, Titanic ore, of which there are billions of tons in northern Minnesota, was smelted in an ordinary cupola and turned out pig iron which polished up like steel, and which, according to those interested in the experiment, is better than the finest Bessemer steel. It is thought that if the new discovery is entirely successful, many more mines will be abandoned and millions of dollars will be saved to the mill barons.

The machinery problem—the question of cheaper production—is bound to become a greater issue to skilled mechanics as well as to so-called common laborers each year.—Max S. Hayes in International Social Review.

The Social Democratic Party of New York Is Identical with the Socialist Party of Other States.

It has been the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittances must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

A QUARTER FOR THE DAILY GLOBE.

Comrades and fellow-workingmen, we need a daily paper in New York City to tell the truth about the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions, and about the condition of the working class, to correct the systematic misrepresentation of the capitalist press, and to inculcate the true principles of the labor movement against the worship of "success" taught by the journalistic hirelings of the exploiters.

A movement for the establishment of such a daily paper, to be owned and controlled by an association of class-conscious workingmen, is already on foot. About thirteen thousand dollars have been collected, but more is needed in order to start the paper with an assurance of success.

We must have the "Daily Globe," as soon as possible. It is for you, all of you, to bring it into existence.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association and the Daily Globe Conferences of New York and of Brooklyn—the latter being delegate bodies representing a large number of trade unions, workmen's mutual benefit societies, and other labor organizations—was held in this city last week. It was there reported that several affiliated trade unions had voluntarily assessed themselves 25 cents per capita for the Daily Globe Fund.

Upon the motion of the delegates of these unions, which have set the good

THE STRIKE IN RICHMOND.

Militarism Displayed in Its Worst Form.

Russian Scabs and Ruffians in Uniform Terrorize the City at Command of Gould's Trolley Company—Abuse of Public Authority in Service of Capitalism Rouses Interest in Socialism.

Comrade John Carrell reports further to the national headquarters upon the street-car strike at Richmond, Va., under date of July 19.

The strike situation is unchanged; the men are still firm. The laws are violated by the company, for while the cars in operation are few in number, the deficiency is made up by excessive speed. Previous to the strike the union men were heavily fined for excessive speed, and if not actually arrested were let off on complaint of police force, for seven or ten days. Now the scabs are running cars with hardly enough clothes to cover their nakedness. They are the toughest specimens I have ever seen. I saw two of them attired in haliburgan underwear, no coat, no shirt, and no socks, smoking cigarettes, strolling the car with vile tobacco spit with "quids" of tobacco stewing the floor. All this in plain violation of the ordinances.

Last week, one of the cars, running at excessive speed, ran into a little girl, who was picked up by the fender. The motorman applied the hand brake, without shutting off the power, and the car failed to stop. A young man ran up, caught the front end of the car and rescued the girl, who was taken to the doctor. The motorman proceeded unmolested.

Manufacturing "Riotous Conduct."

Last week the company planned a scheme to "murder" two strike-breakers as they were going through a lonely part of Fulton street at midnight. The car was timed to pass this spot just as the strikers were returning from their union meeting on their way home. Fulton street is in the East End of Richmond and has a tough reputation. The company had two or three squads of soldiers stationed near the place, where they claimed to have had information that the strikers would wreck the cars and murder the scabs. Everything worked beautifully. Just as the five strikers (De Forest, a member of the Executive Committee, being among them) entered upon this lonely path, the street car came bouncing down. Some one had spiked the rails, the car came to a sudden stop, the scabs were let off, and two shots were fired from an alley, and the scabs replied in the same manner.

The strikers, who were unarmed and were surprised by the fusillade, ran for shelter towards an alley. The soldiers jumped from their hiding place, charged bayonets, and captured the strikers, who are now in jail, charged with attempted assassination. The press is ringing the changes on this incident. A realistic picture has been drawn of the affair, the soldiers stealthily creeping to the spotted place, the mysterious flashing of lights in the neighborhood, the charge in the dark—all in the nature of a "Diamond Dick" novel, for the purpose of alienating public sympathy from the strikers.

Let the Cat Out of the Bag.

All would have gone lovely for the company, if a simple-minded captain had held his tongue in court. The strikers' lawyers asked him how many men had been arrested. Seven, he replied. What did he do with them? Turned them over to his superior officer. Could he identify the men with the guns? Yes. The five strikers were brought before them, and he was asked if he recognized among these men the ones who had the guns. No, he answered. Now, said the lawyers, if there were seven men arrested, and

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NOT WITHOUT NOISE.

"What nonsense that man talks," remarked Senator Borghum, as the departing visitor closed the door. "What did he say?"

"Something about a profit being without noise somewhere or other. I want to go on record saying that there isn't a country on the map where a profit is not being in high octane."

Washington Star.

The Worker.

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(Known in New York State as the Social
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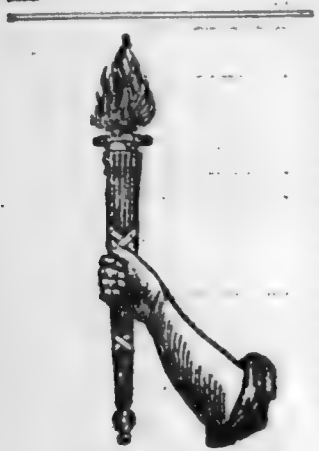
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THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK—
DR. CHARLES I. FURMAN

FOR CONTROLLER—
MORRIS BROWN.

Member of City Board of Health, No. 144.

FOR PRESIDENT OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN—
PETER J. FLANAGAN.

Member of Typographical Union No. 6.

In the state of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the election laws, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of Social Democratic Party, and
its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown
above.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) has passed through the
second general election. Its growing power
is indicated and its speedy victory pre-
sented by the great increase of its vote
shown in the following table:

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) has passed through the
second general election. Its growing power
is indicated and its speedy victory pre-
sented by the great increase of its vote
shown in the following table:

30,000 (Presidential) 97,700
1902 (State and Congressional) 380,700

The workers' "individual lib-
erty" is a precious thing to the boss.
But the boss knows that his individual-
ity is best realized—that is, his profits
swelled—by going into a trust or an
employers' association. Funny thing,
individual liberty. Now you see it and
now you don't.

So the Populists "got together" at
Denver? Well, this is not the first
time we have seen a corpse galvanized
into a simulation of life. But the gal-
vanized corpse never keeps even the sim-
ulating current in shut off. Corpses
have but one duty—to lie quiet and be
buried.

The Pennsylvania miners are find-
ing that the so-called "Constitutional
Board" established in accordance
with the findings of the Strike Com-
mission are only to be adequately de-
scribed by a famous phrase of Dickens—
"the Circumlocution Office." Their
practical function is to postpone the
adjustment of grievances. And how
gets the benefit.

Reverse follows, these workmen.
Here in the United States a lot of the
capitalists are insisting on the neces-
sity of doing away with manhood suf-
frage, as a means of checking the "in-
solence" of strikers. But, alas! just
as they get their pearly roads for the
news that in Russia, where there is
no suffrage at all, labor disturbances
are growing more formidable from
year to year and from week to week.
What is the poor innocent capitalist
to do?

It is asserted by high authority,
about the "slump" in Wall Street, that
the government in Washington stands
ready, if circumstances require it, to
fill, to adapt, financial measures, for
the relief of "legitimate business inter-
ests." Of course. The Secretary of
the Treasury will come to New York,
have a conference with Morgan and

the other "legitimate" financiers, and
then go back and issue bonds or buy
in bonds or shift government deposits
according as the "legitimate" interests
demand—just as he did last year. That
is a "legitimate" function of govern-
ment. Meanwhile, the small investors
—the proverbial widows and orphans—
who have been innocent enough to
think that they might get a share in
"prosperity," will get it—good and
plenty," as the boys say. Between the
bills and the bonds, it is always the
small investor that gets fleeced—and
the sooner the game is played to a
finish, the better for all concerned.
Meanwhile, also, it is no part of the
"legitimate" functions of government,
local or national, to take measures for
the relief of locked-out or striking or
otherwise unemployed workmen.
Certainly not. And it will not be until
the workingman votes for Socialism.
Then we shall have an end of fleecing
all around.

It is recorded in Scripture that on
one occasion an ass spoke. The miracle
has happened again. Fanny has been
talking some more.

CONSISTENCY OF PURPOSE.

Commenting on the Leagues Bill,
reported in The Worker of July 19,
having been passed by the Canadian
Parliament, which makes it a penal
offense for any person not a Canadian
citizen to "incite" Canadian work-
men to strike, the Executive of the
Dominion Trades and Labor Congress
points out that, on the ground of "in-
ternational harmony" the Parliament
refused to enact a law to stop the im-
migration of Japanese workmen,
that the law, while proposing to
punish international union officers com-
ing across the line from the United
States to help conduct strikes, does not
prevent Canadian employers from im-
porting professional detectives to act
as spies in the union, and that it is
not proposed to restrain the activity of
such bodies as the National Associa-
tion of Manufacturers, which incites
capitalists on both sides of the line and
which sends such loud-mouthed cap-
italist agitators as J. Kirby, Jr., into
Canada to stir up trouble.

The Trades Congress Executive
should understand that there is no real
inconsistency, though there is an ap-
parent one, in the action of the Do-
minion Parliament. That body, as a
result of the spathy and gullibility of
the workmen voters, is de facto the
political agency of the capitalist class.
The importation of cheap laborers, the
employment of foreign spies, and the
introduction of foreign capitalist agi-
tators serve the same purpose of
strengthening capitalist organization
and weakening proletarian organiza-
tion as is to be served by the new law
against foreign labor agitators. The
consistency of purpose, the inconsis-
tency of form, is the thing to be
noted.

And in fact, consistency of purpose
is the only consistency that really
counts for anything. The labor organ-
izations may well follow the example
set them by the organized employ-
ment—do not trouble themselves overmuch
about formal respect for old traditions or
abstract theories of law and equity, but
recognize the one great end in view—
the emancipation of our class from
wage-slavery—and resolve to adopt and
use to the full whatever means may
best and quickest effect that end.

Every little while, when other sub-
jects happen to be lacking, the editors
of the daily press recur to that per-
sonal subject, "the decadence of our
judiciary." It is easy to prove the in-
dignity, to show that the judges care
more for their own ease and the secu-
rity of their positions than for any
ideal of justice or equity. But what
have the capitalist editors to offer as
a remedy? Give the judges a life-
tenure of office and raise their salaries.
That is the height of capitalist wis-
dom. Can you make a lousy man in-
dignified or inspire a selfish man with
generous impulses by assuring him
that he will not lose his easy job? Can
you make an unjust man righteous by
paying him \$25,000 a year instead of
\$10,000? The editorial wisecracks do
not, of course, go to the root of the
trouble. They dare not. To do so
would be to expose the secret of their
own servility as well as of their delu-
sion. The social and economic sys-
tem which has no higher ideal than the
dollar-mark, which is dominated by a
class whose only title to respect is
their shrewdness in grabbing money,
which chooses its law-makers and its
law-interpreters and its law-enforcers,
as well as its "moulders of public
opinion," primarily for their willing-
ness to obey orders and unthinkingly
to accept the traditions of the past as
the sum of all wisdom—that system
cannot produce just judges any more
than it can produce intelligent pub-
licists.

The very instances—that is, the need
for the existence of such philanthropic
bodies as the Working Girls' Vacation
Society, the Children's Fresh Air So-
ciety, and a score of others whose ap-
peals to the charitable for financial aid
now all so large a share in the metro-
politan press, is a faithful indictment
of our social system. Think of it,
workmen, but not a horrible as well
as a most unbecomable and abor-
dant show of afflicting that your

slaves and sweethearts and daugh-
ters, who left in store or factory
and help create the wealth of the
world, can enjoy a brief vacation only
through the condescending and pain-
staking "charity" of the "better classes"
while girls who do no useful
work are able to go to the
country when they please! Is it
not an insult to those working
girls? And is it not a reproach to you,
that you allow such conditions to con-
tinue? And a Fresh Air Society! You
workmen feed and clothe and house
the world, but your babies may have
even a fortnight's breathing of pure
air—the plentifullest thing in nature—
only by the grace of those who tell
not, nor spit. You have no reason
really to thank the charity people—
praiseworthy as their motives may
often be; but you have every reason to
blame yourselves that, with the power
of the ballot in your hand, you still
tamely submit to a system that daily
sacrifices the health of your women
and children to the luxury of a non-
producing class. If Socialism would
do so much to wipe out the necessity
for such charities as these, that alone
would be reason enough for you to
vote under the Arm and Torch.

Tens of thousands of people in New
York City are afflicted with tuber-
culosis—doomed to a slow and miserable
death, doomed to see themselves a bur-
den and a danger to their friends and
relatives before they die. The best in-
formed specialists declare that almost
the whole of the tuberculosis existing
in New York City results directly from
the conditions prevailing in the tenements
and factories where the mass
of the working people are doomed to
spend their days and nights—especially
to the lack of sunlight and ventilation
—and that the case of a tuberculosis
victim in such surroundings is practi-
cally hopeless. The bourgeois re-
formers and philanthropists propose to
establish a sanatorium where five hun-
dred patients might get free care and
treatment. These reformers and phil-
anthropists are of the class that own
the shops and tenements and live in
luxury on their interest and dividends
and rents. They profit by the hell
in which the toilers languish, and then
they would pose as public benefactors
if they give one out of fifty of the vic-
tims a chance to escape. We Social-
ists have a different idea. We say:
Depend no longer on the aristocratic
reformers and philanthropists for re-
lief. Workmen, you who have
created the city, take its government
into your own hands. Tax the capital-
ists' property, accumulated by the ex-
ploitation of your labor, to raise funds,
not only to build adequate sanatoriums
for those who are already sick, but to
build wholesome and decent dwellings,
in place of disease-breeding tenements,
and let them to the toilers at cost. "An
ounce of prevention is worth a pound
of cure." The Social Democratic Party
of New York—the Socialist Party of
other states—stands for prevention of
preventable misery, not for the mock-
ery of charity and patchwork reform.

Whether such a condition now exists
in Nebraska we are not altogether
competent to judge. Perhaps the Ne-
braska comrades are mistaken in
thinking that it does. We may advise
them to use caution, to be very sure
the necessity exists before they adopt
such extreme measures, but we are not
inclined utterly to condemn them.

The point in question is not at all
one of the intelligence or the moral
character of the lawyers, doctors,
teachers, and farmers who enter into
the party in Nebraska comrades are
inclined to impede. In considering this
matter we need not question that the
professional men and the farmers are
as intelligent and as honest, and as dis-
contented with present conditions as
are the wage-workers—though, on the
whole, that is hardly to be conceded.
The point is that the psychology of
the farmer (in America as well as in
Europe) is different from that of the
industrial worker; and that the psy-
chology of the professional man is
different from that of either. They see
the world with differently trained eyes
and accordingly they see different
realities. Some acts which the typical
wage-worker instinctively feels to be
wrong and some policies which he in-
stinctively holds to be foolish seem to
the equally intelligent and moral
typical farmer or professional man to
be justifiable or allowable; and the re-
verse is equally true. The typical pro-
fessional man naturally thinks and feels as
a professional man; the typical farmer
naturally thinks and feels as a prop-
rietary man—though in conflict with
most of larger property; the typical
lawyer or doctor or teacher naturally
thinks and feels as an habitual friend
and associate of both propertied and
propertyless, with a certain leaning to-
ward the former; all this, of course,
not excluding exceptions, departures
from the class type. It is just to be
shown that the American farmers, as
a class, are prepared to join with the
proletariat of the world, on the prole-
tariat's own ground, for unequalled
Socialism. Some of them are ready to
join us on that ground, and we should
welcome them. On any other ground,
we cannot afford to join them. And
we can better afford to risk some re-
tardation of the superficial growth of
the movement than to take any con-
siderable chance of its being diverted
from its integral purpose. In those
countries and in those portions of this
country where the industrial prole-
tariat predominates and where the
party is firmly established, we have no
ground for this particular apprehen-
sion; but in a region where the agri-
cultural population very greatly pre-
dominates; where it has, in the very
recent past, shown itself aggressively
discontented, but on a line very differ-
ent from ours; and where, finally, our
movement is still young and weak, is
so to speak, in the position of a be-
leaguered outpost in such a region,
and the more so in view of the peculiar
nature of American politics, we may
well be on our guard, lest those divi-
sions of the movement come to be
dominated by "discrepancies" at variance
with those of the wage-working class
on which our movement, as a whole,
must rest.

AS TO THE PERSONNEL OF THE PARTY.

An interesting question of party or-
ganization has been raised by the
action of the Nebraska State Commit-
tee in refusing to issue a local charter,
on the ground that all the applicants
were either small capitalists or
professional men, and the action of
the state convention in approving the
refusal and fixing a rule that no char-
ter shall henceforth be issued unless
four-fifths of the applicants are actual
wage-workers. The course adopted by
the Nebraska comrades, so far as it
has been commented upon in the party
press, has been generally condemned,
and we have no hesitation in saying
that it seems to us an unwise one, be-
cause unnecessary; but we would be
far from making our disapproval of
such a course absolute and unquali-
fied.

The Socialist movement is, and it
is to remain true to its mission, must
continue to be a movement of the
wage-working class, a proletarian
movement. The nature of the capital-
ist system of exploitation, which domi-
nates present-day society in all its
phases, is such that only the wage-
working class in the strictest sense of
that word is, as a class—that is, by
virtue of its class interests and conse-
quent class instincts—put into a posi-
tion of direct and fundamental and
constructive opposition to existing in-
stitutions; in other words, while there
may be other discontented classes or
sections of society, only the proletariat
is, as a class, in direct consequence of
its economic position, instinctively
revolutionary in the Socialist sense.
That men's moral and social and polit-
ical ideas are determined by their
economic position is a well established
law of social science, not as applied to
individuals, except in a limited meas-
ure, but as applied to communities and
to classes as wholes. It is proverbially
said—and the loose phrase may serve
our present purpose—"Every law has
its exception." In every class struggle
in history we find individuals who,
for special motives, noble or base, of
intellectual conviction, of humane or
other sentiment, or of personal inter-
est, have separated themselves from
the class to which they belonged and
given their support to the opposing
one. Such men have often played a

prominent part, figuring as great
teachers or leaders. But it was never
such individuals, great as might be,
that gave character to a really vital
movement. That must come from the
rank and file who direct and support
and make or unmake the leaders, from
the mass of men guided and impelled
by class interest. Mirabeau did not
make the French Revolution; if for a
time he led, he was a revolutionary
bourgeoisie, not a proletarian.
The mass of the man of the
class revolution, body that he
learned how to do it. Marx and Liebk-
necht were never wage-workers, it
is true. But they did not make the
Socialist movement; they served it.
To cite them as instances is not to
confute their contention that the So-
cialist movement must be essentially
proletarian in its personnel as well as
in its aims. A Social Democratic
party composed chiefly of such men as
Marx and Liebknecht could not have
done what the party of workmen
which they served actually has done.

To sum up: The Socialist movement
should, as it does, in fact, welcome all
recruits that may honestly come to it
from the professions, from the small
bourgeoisie, even from the ranks of
the great capitalists, so long as its
character as a working-class party is
maintained, so long as these men from
other classes consciously and gaily
surrender to the proletarian
and accept its standards of thought
and action. Only when the danger
presented itself—as sometimes it may—
that the party, through hope of im-
mediate and temporary or illusive gains,
may be tempted to give up its prole-
tarian character in accepting such re-
cruits from the other side, only then
is it wise, to apply to individuals ap-
plying for membership the test of class
affiliation. But if such conditions do
exist, if such a danger does exist, then
it is not only our right, but it is our
most sacred duty, to take this or any
other measure that may keep the party
true to its proletarian basis through
the crisis.

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in Nebraska we are not altogether
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must rest.

THE GRATER MUST GO!

The protest against the "grater"—
the ranker-worm, within the prole-
tarian movement, built up by the ex-
istence of the toiler, there is no room for
the grater. In a movement dependent
upon the workers for its very strength,
and having the elimination of the ex-
ploiter for its aim, it must be made
impossible for the grater to exist.
For the grater is an exploiter. The
Socialist speaker at twenty dollars a
speech—and how many there are who
are more—has an exploiter of toil.
For the money is wrung from workers
at ten dollars a week. I am as bitterly
opposed to the exploitation of the worker by a grater
as I am to the exploitation of the worker by a grater.
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working in the present age of the world,
should only respect itself and re-
spect upon itself and dare all things.

The letter of the Organizer of Local
Washington to the Chief of Police,
notifying him of the determination of
the Socialists of that city to stand for
the right of holding meetings in the
open air, has a many ring that should
command the sympathy and respect of
every lover of liberty. The police
authorities and petty judges, in this
country are inclined to regard them-
selves as little gods, above the law,
above the constitution, and above or
beneath all considerations of common
sense and common decency. Respect
for law is right if it is humanly pos-
sible in a shrewd sense; but contempti-
ble courts deserve contempt and
should receive it. Humble protests
and complaints have no effect on these
little autocrats except to swell their
disdain. Let them be met with
manly firmness united with discretion,
and they will soon learn a much
needed lesson.

We regret to have unwittingly done
the comrades of Denver an injustice
in reprinting an article which, while
correct on the whole, involved a mis-
taken statement about the conduct of
the Socialists of that city. The ex-
planation given of the refusal of Local
Denver to take part in the city charter
election, because of the property qualifi-
cation for candidates, seems a per-
fectly satisfactory one. It has more
than once happened in Europe and in
America that, under such circum-
stances, the most effective Socialist
demonstration has been a refusal to
vote. The local comrades are, in gen-
eral, best qualified when to judge when
such is the case and we see no reason
to doubt that the Denver comrades
acted in perfect good faith and, for
that matter, with good judgment as
well. The incident should impress the
comrades everywhere with the advan-
tages of fully and honestly informing
themselves as to the exact facts in
every case before passing a sweeping
judgment.

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WHAT'S THE USE?

By Horace Traubel.

What's the use? That's so. Why
should we prolong this fight? Is not
the fight hopeless? Do we not owe
our family an immediate debt? What
business of ours is the business of the
future? Have we any right to starve
the present in order that the future
may be well fed? Why should we not
sharpen our knives and our wits and
do what sanguinary execution we can
with the conditions that exist?

The past has given me an inheri-
tance of struggle. Why should I not
use that inheritance? Why should I
sweat and bleed and no longer and
cold for the sake of the unborn? I
have suffered long enough. I have
submitted to dispossession. I have
seen robbery all about me and have
not robbed. Why should I not rob?
What but robbery can protect me
against the robber? I have wandered
across the earth hungry with a con-
science. But what is the use of a con-
science if it keeps you hungry? The
only use of a conscience is to keep you
from being a robber. I have refused
to be a robber. I have refused to be
a thief. But why should I doubt my
right? Why should I not make my
grat? The world does not admire the
hungry man. It admires the man who
has proved that he can confound it.
It admires the man who has proved
that he can confound it. It admires
the man who has proved that he can
confound it. It admires the man who
has proved that he can confound it.

Why should I stay out in the cold
and old only in a conscience? Or go
about with a stomach empty of every-
thing but its conscience? What is this
struggle that pesters me? I am tired
of the struggle. It holds me back.
I want to be free. I want to be free.
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THE PARTY IN DENMARK.

The Worker has already reported the
results of the parliamentary elections
in Denmark, showing a considerable
gain for the Social Democratic Party.
We now take from the "Revs Social-
ist" a brief account of the last
national congress of the party, held at
Aarhus, shortly before the election.
The congress was composed of 171
delegates, representing 104 local or-
ganizations, with a total dues-paying
membership of 21,763.

AS TO TACTICS.

By A. M. Simons.

Company, 100 William Street, New York City. Price, 10 cents.

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A FIGHT TO THE FINISH.

In another column we print correspondence from Denver exposing, on the best of capitalist authority, the methods of fraud and violence used by the organized employers to defeat the switchmen's demand for an eight-hour day.

The publication on such excellent capitalist authority as the Denver "Post" of the facts in the case of the sixty men imported from Missouri by the Smelting Trust to break the Denver strike, the men having been assured there was no strike on in order to induce them to go and required to make deposits with the company's agents in order that they might reach Denver penniless and be compelled to scab and having been surrounded by armed guards to prevent their prematurely learning the true state of affairs, is enough to convince us, if anything were needed, that the insinuations printed in the capitalist press to the effect that the strikers are plotting to destroy the company's property with torch or dynamite are gratuitous lies. The bosses who would do what these are proved to have done, are quite capable of living agents to set fires and place bombs for the purpose of supplying evidence on which to put union officers under arrest and making an excuse for the declaration of martial law. And this is not the first instance of such rascality on the part of American capitalists.

Since that matter was in type there comes, on equally good authority, a still more shocking story of capitalist crime. Here is the story, as briefly told in the news dispatches of the "Times," one of the most reputable of capitalist newspapers:

IDAHO BERLINER, Col., July 20.—After a meeting of business men last night 500 citizens of Idaho Springs went to the city jail and took fourteen of the men arrested in connection with the blowing up of the Sun and Moon mine buildings, marched them to the city limits, and told them to leave the place and never return.

"The men driven out include the president of the local union, the vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, and two or three members of the executive committee. All the others are prominent members of the union."

Next comes the news that at Denver, where the exiles from Idaho

Springs took refuge, the "Citizens Alliance" is preparing to take similar measures against them—if it dares. If it does not fear the wrath of the workmen of that larger city.

The men who were driven out of Idaho Springs called on the Governor for protection. The Governor knows his business. He is there to protect the "sacred rights of property," not the lives and liberties of workmen. He referred them back to the local authorities who had given them up to the tender mercies of the capitalist rioters.

Most striking of all is the fact, not that such crimes are committed, not even that they are committed with impunity, but that such a paper as the "Times" can openly and directly approve them, as it did in its issue of August 2, and that not one word of protest goes up from any of the leaders of the old parties, or from any of the journalistic, clerical, or professional defenders of capitalist "law and order" who so readily go into hysterics over the slightest demonstration of spirited discontent by the working people.

Once more let it be said—it cannot be repeated too often, until the mass of the working-class voters shall recognize the truth—the possessing class cares absolutely nothing for law and order, except where law and order means their security in the unbridled exploitation of the workers. The capitalist class will stop at no lawlessness, will hesitate at no invasion of personal liberty, if it sees profit to be gained thereby. The capitalist class knows nothing of honor or good faith. It recognizes no rights but its own right to live in luxury without doing any useful work.

Whoever of the working class trusts in the honor of the capitalists, whoever trusts in their mercy, whoever trusts in their respect for law, deceives himself; and whoever counsels the working class to depend on anything but its own intelligence, its own power of industrial and political organization, counsels it to commit class suicide.

Against the lawless and criminal system of capitalism, which grows more lawless and criminal from day to day, there is but one hope for liberty—the Red Flag of Socialism.

Moore's opinion and the Democratic majority sustained him.

Mr. West of Lowndes joined in denunciation of the Socialists who advocate such legislation.

Must Go Fought on New Lines.

Mr. Houston made a strong fight for the bill along his chosen lines—to a fight on those lines was doomed to failure. He appealed to human sentiment—as if profit would ever willingly yield to humanity. And he tried to argue that it was in the real interest of the mill-owners to have child labor prohibited—as if these lords of profit did not know their own business, did not know to the penny how much surplus value they can squeeze out of a man, how much out of a woman, how much out of a little child.

He did not venture to appeal to the self-interest of workers as against the bank accounts of their employers. That appeal will be made and will be heard, but it waits the rise of the Socialist Party in Georgia.

Capitalists' Brasserie Hypocritical.

Mr. Houston made one good point in his speech—the brazen hypocrisy of the cotton-mill owners, who pretend that by voluntary agreement they have put a stop to the employment of children under twelve years of age, but who yet argue that the enactment of the rule into law would drive them out of business.

While the guilt rests directly upon the Democratic party, it must not be forgotten—it is an open secret here—that the opposition to the bill came equally from the Southern Democrats and the Northern Republicans who were most of the mills in partnership.

The two old parties are, as Mark Twain says of England and the United States, "kiss in sin." The men whose influence Carey and our lamented MacCarty have fought in the State House at Boston are among those whose influence we Socialists of the South will have to combat and will ultimately destroy.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 31.—The thoroughly capitalist character of our government was still further illustrated by yesterday's action of the Legislature. After defeating the bill to prevent the employment of children in the mills, our solons have picked out one section of that bill and enacted it into law. This measure provides that all persons able to work and who, instead of working, live on the wages of their minor children, shall be considered vagrants, amenable to punishment as for a misdemeanor.

It is hypocritically pretended that this measure will largely reduce the number of children in the mills. That will get its effect not in the intent in passing it. It is not to keep the children out, but to force in the mass of adults who, in this new industrial region, are not yet disciplined into the habit of regular work and regular overwork, that the bill is intended.

—The Arm and Torch is the emblem of Socialism on the official ballot in New York.

HOW THEY LOVE LAW AND ORDER.

Smelting Trust Magnates Give a Practical Example.

Recent Drawn from Capitalist Press of Fraud and Violence Used by Capitalists to Break Denver Strike—Will Result in Making Socialist Votes.

DENVER, July 25.—It is not often that you can quote from capitalist sources such a clear and damning account of the fraudulent and violent and lawless methods used by the organized capitalists against the labor movement as we are here able to send you, taken from the Denver "Post," one of the leading capitalist papers of this city, relating to the importation of men to break the eight-hour strike of the smelters against the American Smelting and Refining Company. Here is the "Post" article:

"Locked up in a day coach and guarded by armed men, sixty-two laborers were taken into the Globe smelter yesterday, but as soon as they were released from this portable prison, fifty-eight of them escaped.

"One of their number, who seized his grip and attempted to escape at Brush, Colorado, was shot in the leg by a local constable, who thought he was an escaping prisoner of the legal authorities."

"The shipment of men came from Joplin, Missouri, where Lee Willis, a recruiting agent of the American Smelting and Refining Company, has been for several days, aided by Lee Teale, an employment agent of that place."

"The men charge that the situation was misrepresented to them, also they would not have consented to come to Colorado. Many are members of other unions."

Told There Was No Strike.

"We were offered from \$2 to \$3 a day for nine and ten hours," said E. P. Hill of Joplin, "and they assured us that no strike was on. Some came from Joplin, some from Webb City, and some from St. Joseph. We were put into a day coach on the Burlington and given ham sandwiches early Saturday morning. At noon they put on a keg of beer and at night gave us sandwiches and a cup of coffee. None of us suspected anything wrong until we were in Denver. They gave us no tickets except this, a small card bearing the letters A. B. & C. Co., which was never asked for. These are our receipts for deposit on the railroad fare. We all had to stay in the car and two men with guns stood at each door to prevent any one escaping."

One Shot in Trying to Escape.

"At Brush a man seized his grip when he learned the situation and tried to escape, but the guards on the car yelled after him and the crowd, seeing he was under guard, pursued. A local officer shot him in the leg and captured him, but the train left without him and I don't know his name. His grip, which was dropped in his flight, is now at Mallick's place at Globeville."

"When we were near Denver a brakeman came through and told some of the boys they were strike-breakers and we began to inquire. The train crew said a strike was on and we were being brought in to scab.

"The guards heard this talk and blocked the doors. Only the trainmen could get in and out and we were brought into Denver locked up in the car. After we were left on the track a short time, a switch engine came and took us to the smelter. The car doors were not opened until we had been taken into the grounds and up to the buildings."

"This sort of slavery was too much for all of us, after we had been told there was no strike, and fifty-eight of us walked out."

Company Even Exacted Deposits.

"John D. Carson of Toronto, Ohio, who was found at Webb City, Mo., said:

"There was misrepresentation of everything. Some of us deposited \$3, believing we were to get first-class work, and one fellow paid \$12, his full fare to Denver. The railroad fare was to be taken out of our wages. All that Hill has said is true, but we were not fed enough for dogs, and no better. When we reached Denver the guards got in the doors and would let no one pass."

Fifty-eight of the sixty-two men eventually got away and came to the headquarters of the Smeltermen's Union, where arrangements were made for providing them with food and getting them work or means to return to their homes.

A few days later fifty or sixty Mexican laborers were brought in from the Southwest, but it is believed that they will quit as soon as they understand the situation.

The demand for the eight-hour day is extending to other plants in Denver and at Pueblo, Leadville, and Durango.

Remember Carey's Strike Bill.

The Socialist members in the Massachusetts Legislature introduced and fought for a bill providing that when any employer seeks through advertisement or through employment agencies to get men to take the place of striking or locked-out employees he must inform such men of the fact that a strike or lockout exists in the place, and providing penalties for failure to do so.

That bill roused the horror and indignation of the capitalists of both old parties, of the class of people who always prate of "law and order" and "sacredness of contracts" and who, for the sake of profit, constantly commit such despicable acts as this described in the Denver "Post." The bill was defeated, of course, because the Re-

publicans and Democrats have still the majority in the legislative body, and there by the votes of unthinking workmen. But more and more of the workmen are learning to think for themselves and it may well be that this outrage committed by the American Smelting and Refining Company will be the means of sending Socialists to the state house here in Colorado to advocate such legislation and in every respect to fight for the working class against capitalism.

POLITICAL PROGRAM OF LABOR.

The age-long struggle which has been carried on in the economic field has been carried on in the case of Congress to the Legislature, to the President's office and to the Supreme Court. The capitalist has reinforced his side in this fight with the use of the whole power of the state in order to defeat the strike, to disarm the workers, to enforce injunctions, to disrupt unions and to make impossible such continued and profitable employment of the workers as would make the workers industrial masters of themselves.

On the other hand the laborers are beginning to understand that they are beaten in the strike because, before the strike, they had placed the power of the state in the hands of the enemies of labor; it is coming to be understood by all workers that the ballot opens a way by which they themselves may become governing forces and so use the power of the state in the interest of the laborers, in the same way that these same powers are now being used to the injury of the laborers. There is now no way by which this age-long strike could be kept away from the ballot-box, and there is no reason why it should not be fought out at that place. Ever since the beginning of civilization the powers of the state have been used to enslave, to degrade, to discredit and to impoverish the producers of wealth. The modern industrial development have made the workers more and more dependent on the owners of the means of production, and while it is frequently admitted that these questions must be carried to the ballot-box, and then proposed that it should be done under a non-partisan referendum on the merits of the questions involved, it is hardly possible that those who make these proposals appreciate how serious are the questions involved, how age-long has been this strife, how determined would be this struggle for the possession of the ballot-box in order that the authorities may be used for or against the deliverance of the working class from the enslavement that has been their lot ever since history began.

A political party thoroughly organized and standing together through a series of elections, finally coming to a majority, will be able to enforce obedience, but a referendum may give an overwhelming majority to a proposal and if the officers of the court and the other officers of the state and in authority are deeply interested in thwarting the public will, the referendum still leaves in their hands the power to do so.

While it is frequently said that when Socialism is carried by a majority vote in this country that the Supreme Court would hold it unconstitutional, a referendum vote by an unorganized majority would necessarily submit to such a decision; but a political party carried into power on such an issue could reconstruct the Supreme Court itself; it could suppress rebellion, make its own interpretation of the laws, or make new laws if necessary—in fact, a referendum without a party is only an "exhibition of public opinion, without authority to enforce that opinion."

A triumph of political party, standing for Socialism, will not only be an expression of public opinion, but when largely in the majority this majority will thus become the government itself with the power to enforce that opinion of the majority as the law of the land.

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican party can ever be made the party of Socialism. The central committees of both, in all local, state, and national organizations, are themselves capitalists or the agents of capitalists, and in spite of the primary laws of the various states they have been able to will continue to be able to perpetuate themselves as the masters of the machinery of both these parties.

Nothing but a political party made up of the workers, struggling for the control of the state in order that it may use the authority of the state in behalf of the workers, can ever secure and enforce the proposals of the Socialists. The organization may not be complicated, its platform may be brief, but it must state the central conflict between capital and labor—the conflict that is as old as history and which will end only with the triumph of the Socialist Party. The platform must stand for the collective ownership of the means of life; the democratic management by the workers of the collectively owned means of producing the means of life; for equal opportunities for all men and women to the use and benefit of these collectively owned and democratically managed means of producing the means of life; it must "pledge the full power of society, its laws, courts, armies, its workers and its wealth to secure these ends."

It is the most serious task ever undertaken by mortal man. There is no service to human life too great to give, no service too difficult to do, and no task so long that it may not well be undertaken to secure an end so great.

Union labor parties could not secure Socialism. A triumphant Socialist political party will not only secure the majority vote, but will possess and will directly administer the proposals of the Socialists under the control of the Socialists themselves.

To create and make victorious such a party is the highest duty of the workers everywhere.—Joseph Labadie. The paper read from the Boston Convention, Mass.

LABOR IS AWAKENING.

Important Declarations of Wisconsin Union Men.

Convention of State Federation of Labor Urges Frank Recognition of the Absolute Conflict Between Labor and Capital.

"Better late than never," is proverbial wisdom. The Worker is somewhat tardy in presenting the three following important resolutions adopted by the annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, but they will still be news to most of our readers in the East.

The first of the resolutions referred to deals with such movements as the Civic Federation and the right attitude to be taken by organized workmen toward them. It runs:

"Whereas, The capitalist system of production creates two antagonistic classes with necessarily conflicting interests, viz., a small exploiting class and a large exploited class, although the capitalist class has always tried to hide the fact of the class struggle; and

"Whereas, The trade-union movement of America is the expression of the class struggle of the American wage-worker upon the economic field, and any attempt to hide the class struggle is necessarily an attempt to mislead labor; and

"Whereas, The union men of America expect the trades-union leaders to be leaders in the class struggle, and rather to point out than to hide the class struggle is necessarily an attempt to mislead labor; and

"Resolved, That we, the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby emphatically oppose, as seriously mistaken tactics, any alliance of prominent labor leaders with the most prominent representatives of American capitalism."

Thanks to Barry.

The second has probably not carried yet to the heart of that strenuous hater of the labor movement, Mr. Barry, though truly complimentary to him. It reads:

"Whereas, It has come to pass that there has risen in the ranks of the capitalists a man strong enough to force organized Capital to turn toward Labor its true visage of hate and respect; and

"Whereas, Such attitude tears the mask of hypocritical friendship from the face of Mark Hanna and other pretended political lovers of labor; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor hereby takes great pleasure in extending a vote of thanks to President Barry of the National Manufacturers' Association, a copy of these resolutions to be sent to that gentleman at Indianapolis."

Warning Against Militarism.

The Wisconsin Federation declared itself on the military preparations of the capitalists as follows:

"Whereas, Capitalism has recently made use of its political control of the government to place unprecedented power in the hands of the President, thus lessening the control of the troops by the state governors, who, being nearer the people, are not so easily controlled; and

"Whereas, This action by the last Congress has not only doubled the army, but has prepared the way for a military despotism on American soil, to be used for the subjugation of the great majority of the people, i. e., the working class, when the capitalists' right to extract profits out of the workers shall be seriously threatened; and

"Whereas, There are still many union men throughout the state who are connected with military companies, such action being inconsistent with the aims of socialism as such soldiers are expected to shoot down their fellow workmen whenever the command is given; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the eleventh annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor hereby urges all union men to withdraw their active or passive support from the military companies and treat them, under their present organization, as enemies of the working class."

The Wisconsin union men are assuredly making good progress on the right road.

PROGRESS IN WISCONSIN.

The Wisconsin Federation of Labor met last month and showed the largest membership and treasury in its history. The following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, International Socialism should be the logical and final aim of the labor movement, it being the only national solution which will give justice to the workers of all nations, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the delegates of this body to the next A. F. of L. convention be hereby instructed to introduce a resolution to endorse International Socialism and its aims."

—We might incidentally remark that Mark Hanna will be an easy mark for the workmen when they know enough to mark their ballots for Socialism.—Erie People.

—Don't ever the boss if he goes to a summer resort and leaves you to sweat in the factory. He represents your interest there just as much as the selfish jobber who goes to Congress for his pocket—Erie People.

NEW YORK STATE.

News of the Automobile Agitation—Municipal Ticket in New Rochelle—Agitation at Various Points.

The State Committee met on August 4, in accordance with its decision to meet on the first Tuesday and third Saturday of each month so that it may be possible for delegates from other localities near New York to attend Saturday evening meetings. An account of the small attendance, very little business was transacted. The treasurer's report for July showed balance on hand July 1, \$20.81; receipts during July, \$318.40; receipts for automobile fund, \$124.45; total receipts, \$442.10; expenditures, \$377.11; balance on hand August 1, \$105.05.

The Social Democratic Party will have candidates for all state offices to be filled this fall and will appear on the ballot in every election district in the state.

The Automobile Agitation.

The following contributions have been received for the Automobile Fund since last report: 234 A. D. New York, list \$0.35; 18th-20th A. D. New York, list \$2.10; Branch 1, 38th A. D. New York, list \$8.33; J. F. Handover, New York, \$1.

Feldman and Roever write from Middletown, where they are awaiting new lines for the automobile, as follows: "We have held five meetings here and have got the whole town talking about Socialism. We have nothing to complain of, as everybody treats us royally and financially we have fared first-class. The local labor union gave us \$10, although we did not ask them for anything; the Socialist local contributed \$3.50; Comrade E. Smith, \$2; and Comrade Huitt of Port Jervis, \$5. Our next stop will be at Port Jervis, where we shall try hard to organize a local. We feel sure of support everywhere. The comrades raise all the money and even more than we expected and there is no reason why our tour should not be a great success."

Campaign in New Rochelle.

Local New Rochelle held primary convention on July 30 and adopted a municipal platform reaffirming allegiance to the principles of Socialism as enunciated in the national platform and demanding the initiative and referendum, abolition of the contract system on public work, union rate of wages to be paid city employees and preference given to members of trade unions, establishment of a municipal coal and lumber yard, municipalization of New Rochelle hospital and all public utilities, etc. In its program, among other things, it provided for teachers, vestibules for trolley cars in winter for protection of motemen, equitable salaries for Mayor and Board of Aldermen.

The following ticket was nominated, with one or two exceptions all being union men:

For Mayor, William Dymally, of Adams and Cylindor Pressman's Association No. 51; Comptroller, Patrick Murray, carpenter; City Treasurer, Robert Lesser, restaurateur; Recorder of Taxes, Maurice J. Coughlin, carpenter; Police Justice, Hugh M. Campbell, machinist; Justices of the Peace, Ovid E. Roberts, carpenter, and Albrecht E. Thierfelder, gardener; Assessors, John Green, gardener; Martin Haidig, mason; Louis Martindell, butcher.

First Ward—Supervisor, John Weiss; Aldermen, Sydney Hall and Louis Larson; Second Ward—Supervisor, Thomas Gleason; Aldermen, A. E. Dixon and M. J. Powers; Third Ward—Supervisor, Eric Hendrickson; Aldermen, Charles Huber and Frank Marzetta; Fourth Ward—Supervisor, Jas. Ogden; Aldermen, John Doyle and Thomas Maguire. Delegates to the county and assembly conventions were also nominated and Comrades Uffner, Hagerty, and Westing were chosen as a committee to fill vacancies.

Progress in Peekskill.

Mother Jones spoke in Peekskill, under the auspices of the Socialists, on July 31 to an audience of over one thousand people, holding the closest attention throughout and meeting with continuous applause. Local Peckskill held its first picnic at Shady Lake Park on August 1, and it was a success. There has been great interest in Socialism here since Fieldman's strenuous experience with the local authorities and from now on we can expect to meet much less opposition from the workers but more from the powers that be.

Socialists in Rome hope to put up a county and city ticket this fall, and the German comrades in Utica will endeavor to organize an English-speaking branch.

Comrade John C. Chase will be the Labor Day orator at Rochester. Comrades Lippert and Bach of Rochester held an agitation meeting at Clyde recently, and will speak at Lyons and Van Hook on August 1, while Comrade Mische will speak at Macedon.

The young local at Jamestown has over fifty dues-paying members, and will nominate candidates for assembly and sheriff.

TWO HUNDRED CHAPTERS.

One Larry Murphy, one time treasurer of the Stone Cutters' Union of New York, squandered \$10,000 out of the bosses by making them pay the fines levied on the men, and then skipped to Europe and had a long time to go. But Larry struck the wrong crowd. He returned and is now in jail, waiting sentence on a charge of embezzlement. Larry should have squandered it out of the workmen's pockets instead, through the regular channels of rent, interest and profit, and then if he wanted to go to Europe, his name would have appeared in the papers amongst those of our "best people" who had gone to the other side for the season.—Erie People.

CLASS GOVERNMENT? YES.

Do you want to get an idea of what the Social Democrats would do if elected to office in this city of New York this fall? Here is an example of what one Socialist is doing—William Johnson, the representative of the workmen of the Pullman district in the Chicago Board of Aldermen.

Alderman Johnson, it is reported, has administered a severe shock to his Republican and Democratic colleagues—"friends of Labor," all of them—by introducing and advocating the adoption of the following rule of instruction to the police:

"Whereas, The workingman is the producer of all wealth, but under the present capitalist system of production he receives but a precarious existence, and

"Whereas, Owing to this system he is constantly compelled to struggle for better conditions through every peaceable means, often involving strikes or lockouts, a condition of actual warfare; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the workers, who constitute the majority of the citizens of this city of Chicago, shall have full protection of the Police Department; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Police Department be, and hereby is, instructed to remain neutral in all disturbances, so long as no attempts at violence are made, and shall in no case prevent these strikers' endeavors to better their conditions."

This is the first time such language has ever been heard in that body. The old-party members did not know what to say at first. It staggered them. Of course, they smothered it—for, so far, there is only one Socialist there. But more are going in, and they will all go in with the same spirit and purpose that Alderman Johnson has shown.

Or read this from Anacoda, where the Socialists captured half of the city government last spring and propose to get the rest at the next election:

"The Socialist Assessor is squaring his acts with the party platform, to the great disgust of the corporations. It is reversing the usual order of things and raising their assessments instead of lowering them. The assessed valuation of the Anacoda Copper Company has been raised from six millions to sixteen millions, while that of the railroads has been doctored. More taxes will be raised in Anacoda this year on a 13-mill levy than were raised last year on a 30-mill levy."

That increased revenue will be used to give better schools for the workingmen's children, to increase the pay and reduce the hours of laborers and mechanics on public work, and in every way possible to benefit the working class whose labor has created and maintains the city. Compare this Socialist Assessor's conduct with that of capitalist "Reform" Controller Grout here in New York, who boasts that he

has reduced the taxes on the tenement-house owners while they are steadily raising the rents worked from the poorest of the working class.

"Class legislation! Class government!" the respectable conservatives and capitalist reformers will cry, railing their hands in holy horror. Yes, gentlemen, class government it is. We frankly avow it.

You have set us the example of class government. Your Mayors who have sent police to club strikers—nay, to club hungry women gathering to protest against the Beef Trust; your Aldermen who have enriched themselves and their patrons by voting franchises and fat public contracts; your District Attorneys who have let law-breaking railway directors slip through the meshes of the law, but are diligent in prosecuting alleged bribers in the unions at the very moment when such prosecutions will aid an employers' lockout; your Judges, big and little, who, without jury trial, have sent workmen to jail for "contempt of court" for daring to walk the streets near a lockout shop; gentlemen, of the capitalist class, and your chosen agents of both old parties, who have found this city government an inexhaustible mine of wealth through our foolish trust in you—you have taught us the lesson of class government.

We Social Democrats propose to have a Mayor for the builders of the city, not for the owners of the city who conspire to lock the builders out "until hunger shall compel capitulation."

We propose to have a Controller for the class that builds the tenements and now lives in the worst of them, not for the class that owns the tenements and lives in mansions.

We propose to have Aldermen representing the brain and muscle of the city, not proxies for the bank accounts and stock certificates.

That is why the Social Democratic Party has nominated its ticket—Furman for Mayor, Brown for Controller, Managers for President of the Board of Aldermen, and representatives of the thinking and self-asserting working class in every place from top to bottom. That is why we call on every workman in the city to reply to Barry, to reply to Eldridge, to reply to all the blacklists and lockout conspirators, by putting his cross under the Arm and Torch in the third column of the ballot.

We know what class government means. We have tried it. We have got tired of having it all on one side. We propose to have government by and for the producing class. That is Social Democratic politics.

POLITICAL NOTICES.

The attention of Social Democratic voters is called to the following notices of political conventions:

KINGS COUNTY.

A convention of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County to nominate candidates for county officers in Kings County to be voted for at the ensuing election and to elect delegates to the Second Judicial District convention will be held on Saturday, August 22, 1903, at 7 p. m., in the Labor Lyceum, 546-556 Willsborough Avenue, Borough of Brooklyn, Kings County.

By order of Kings County Committee, Social Democratic Party.

J. GIBBER, Campaign Secretary.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH.

A borough convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Brooklyn, to nominate a candidate for President of the Borough, and to attend to such other matters as may come before it, will be held on Saturday, August 22, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 546-556 Willsborough Avenue, Borough of Brooklyn.

By order of Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Brooklyn.

J. GIBBER, Campaign Secretary.

SECOND JUDICIAL DISTRICT.

A convention of the Social Democratic Party to nominate a candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court for the Second District of the State of New York will be held on Saturday, August 22, 1903, at 8 p. m., in the Labor Lyceum, 546-556 Willsborough Avenue, Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York.

The basis of representation to the above convention is one delegate at large for each county and one additional delegate for every 50 members in good standing. Delegates must be elected at county conventions, composed of delegates elected at primaries in accordance with the General Election Law.

The Second Judicial District takes in the following counties: Kings, Queens, Richmond, Westchester, Nassau, Suffolk, Orange, Rockland, Dutchess, and Putnam.

Party organizations in the above counties will see that they are represented at the convention.

—Socialists who live in places where no local branch of the Socialist Party exists, should join the party as members-at-large.

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NO EIGHT-HOUR CALL.

Governor of Colorado Calls Special Session to Vote Appropriations, but Refuses to Authorize Introduction of Labor Bill Provided for by Referendum.

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The Worker.

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SOCIALISM IN MONTANA.

Our Progress in Anaconda and Butte.

Socialist Victories and Their Results
—A Socialist Assessor Makes It Hot for the Copper Trust—The Company Tries to Stamp Out the Movement by Discharging Socialists.

BUTTE, Mont., August 3.—I presume, after the recent Socialist victories in this state at the last fall and spring elections, the readers of The Worker would be interested in hearing something of the local conditions and movement.

In Butte last spring our vote increased from 800 to 2,000, of which 2,300 were straight Socialist votes. Four hundred votes more would have elected our candidate for Mayor. We elected one Alderman from the First Ward, Comrade Ambrose, a barber. A merry fight is now raging in the City Council between the ten aldermen owned by the Amalgamated Copper Company and the Mayor and four of the council who are owned by Mr. Heinze, president of the Montana Ore Purchasing Company. Ambrose's course in the council has been absolutely independent and fearless. It has told that body repeatedly that it is "simply a fight between two corporations" and that he will support the Mayor when he is right and oppose him when he is wrong. At the time of Roosevelt's visit, a scheme was sprung that the council appropriate \$500 for a reception. This meant a big dinner for a few "swells" at the company hotel. It required unanimous consent and Ambrose blocked it by voting nay on the ground that "Roosevelt should be at home tending to the business that he is paid \$50,000 a year for."

Labour Parties Turn to Socialism.
In Anaconda, the labour party that last fall elected its ticket, with a few exceptions, has ceased to exist. With the exception of a few (whom we do not want), the rank and file have come over to the Socialist Party. The County Attorney elected on the labour ticket (J. H. McCaffray), however, would not stand for Socialism and has returned to the sheltering folds of the company's influence. This spring in Anaconda we elected the three city officials, mayor, treasurer, and police magistrate, and three out of ten aldermen. The old-party politicians contested and refused to give up the offices. Comrade Froese, our Mayor-elect, took the case into court and won. He has a continual fight with the Republican and Democratic majority in the Council. They conferred his appointment for Chief of Police, a Socialist, M. Powers, but turned down his other appointments. He has refused to sign the warrants for the salary of the members of the fire department, as they have not been legally elected by the Mayor and Council. The firemen have now gone into court to try to force him to do so.

The other two duly elected city officers, Comrade McElhugh, Police Magistrate, and Comrade Tobin, elected as City Treasurer, have not yet taken office owing to delay in the court taking up their cases. These cases, however, will come up in a few days, the demurrer of the opposition having been overruled by the court yesterday, and it is a foregone conclusion that we will win.

What Socialists Do in Office.
Comrade Leavengood, who was elected on the labour ticket as County Assessor last fall, raised the assessment of the Amalgamated Copper Company from six million to 16 million, and has been praised by every independent paper in the state. The company is fighting the assessment before the Board of County Commissioners (who are Democrats), and no doubt it will be set aside. Leavengood will, however, carry it before the State Board of Equalization if necessary, and they will not dare to put it back at the old figure. If this assessment goes through more taxes will be raised in Deer Lodge County this year on a 13 mill assessment than on a 30 mill assessment last year.

In this same town—Anaconda—the trade unions went into school election last spring and elected a majority of the School Board. They promptly removed the former superintendent, who had opposed the formation of a trade union among the teachers, and elected J. W. Dale, a Butte school teacher, a Socialist, a member of the Workmen's Union, and our candidate for City Treasurer, as Superintendent.

Company Discharging Socialists.
Whether it was owing to these knock-down blows on the political field or whether it is owing to stock manipulation, the company has shut down the smelter in Anaconda, and as a result the town is practically dead. I spoke on the street there a week ago to a large crowd, and when I referred to the fact that the company was advertising for men in the East, a grizzled old comrade shouted: "Let them bring them in. We'll make Socialists of them as fast as they can fetch them here." Needless to say, the sentiment was cheered uproariously. Hundreds of Socialists are getting the "blue card," which means that dismissal for all time to come, from the service of the company. Every day sees dozens of our best fighters leave Anaconda for other mining towns. "Never mind," remarked one of them to me, "we know what Socialism means for us now, and we'll be Socialists wherever we go." Many of them are going to Arizona where they will be heard from later on.

There is a feeling that the company

FIGHTING FOR FREE SPEECH.

Denver Socialists Resist Persecution.

Wholesale Arrests of Socialist Speakers—Local Denver is Waging a Determined Legal Battle for the Constitutional Right of Free Speech and Peaceful Assembly.

DENVER, Colo., August 4.—The situation is becoming serious in Colorado. The driving of union miners from their homes by lawless mobs of "respectable" business men and the jailing of Socialist speakers are parts of the same plan and emanate from the same source. The "Citizens' Alliance," by whatever name known, is at the bottom of the trouble and we may as well awake to the fact that the fight is on and the conflict irrepressible.

Persecution Began Two Months Ago.
In June Local Denver, Socialist Party, engaged Comrade J. Edward Morgan of Omaha to speak on the streets for a period of thirty days. One night about the close of his engagement he was arrested by the police under an order of the Fire and Police Board prohibiting all street meetings except those held by the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America. Hall was offered and refused. The next morning Comrade Morgan was discharged by Police Judge Thomas, who held that the order of the Fire and Police Board would not stand if tested in the higher courts. Comrade J. H. Osborn, the blind orator, then took up the street work, and he and Comrade Fox were arrested, but released on their own recognizance, and on the hearing Judge Thomas discharged them.

Local Denver then took the matter up and appointed a committee to have charge of the street meetings and to attend to any legal complications which might arise. The committee, of which the writer is chairman, retained as counsel one of the ablest attorneys in the city, J. Warner Miller, and we prepared for the fight which we knew was coming. Judge Thomas, to give us a chance to get into a higher court, agreed to impose fines. This was the status of the case on Saturday, July 25, when the legal battle really commenced.

Police Brutality.
That evening we had a meeting on Champa street, near Sixteenth. Comrade Osborn mounted the soap box and after speaking fifteen minutes he was ordered to "move on" by the police. Refusing to do so he was arrested. Two other comrades, Fox and Kalver, attempted to speak but were pulled down and hustled off to the city bastille with scant ceremony.

Accompanied by half-dozen comrades, I went to the jail to see if we could get them out on bail. Police Captain Lee refused to admit them to the jail. I urged the matter quite strongly but with due respect to the dignity of the great man before me, as I supposed, but he took offense at something I said and struck me in the face and ordered me to leave the building, which I did. About midnight the authorities decided to let our comrades out on bail. Each of them was fined \$25 and costs Monday morning and we at once took an appeal to the County Court.

The speaking has been kept up each evening since then. Arrests are regularly made and fines suspended pending the decision of the appeal.

Women Also Arrested.
Tuesday evening the program was varied a little. Miss Carrie L. Johnson consented to be the victim and mounted the famous soap box. She was not disturbed for nearly half an hour, but at last the guardians of the law took her in custody and she was incarcerated in the city jail. In an hour bonds had been arranged and she was at liberty.

Friday morning, July 31, was the time set for the hearing of the appeal. The Socialists and their counsel were promptly on hand, but the attorney for the city, afraid to meet the issue, moved to dismiss the case at the cost of the city, which was done.

This was a victory for us, but not what we wanted. It was a victory on the technical line, but we were ready and eager for the battle. Friday evening Miss Wood and Miss Johnson spoke on the street and were not molested. Saturday evening Walter Thomas Mills was arrested and released on bail to appear Monday morning for trial. On trial his case was dismissed.

In the meantime we were carefully looking after our legal rights in the courts. After our appeal was dismissed by the City Attorney, we had Comrade Osborn again jailed on a fine which was not annulled by the dismissal of our appeal, and at once proceeded to get a writ of habeas corpus from Judge Mullins of the District Court. The writ was issued late Saturday evening, August 1, and by nine o'clock the same evening we had him out on bail. The hearing on the writ of habeas corpus was set for August 6.

Funds Needed for Defense.
Here the matter rests for the present. Local Denver is in earnest and proposes to carry on the fight in the courts until our rights are either acknowledged or denied. It is a serious matter for an organization of working people who have hard work to make a living, but the comrades realize that it must be done. Many of our people who can ill afford it, have given \$5 or \$10 each toward the legal expenses. About \$300 has already been secured, and more will be needed. How much more no one can tell. We

FURMAN'S ACCEPTANCE.

A Clarion Call to the City Campaign.

Urging Letter of the Soc'd at Candidates for Mayor of New York—Let Every Socialist and Sympathizer Swell the Campaign Fund Now Opened.

Dr. Charles L. Furman, who was nominated for Mayor at the city convention of the Social Democratic Party of New York, has issued the following letter of acceptance:

Courrades of Greater New York:—It is gratifying to know that in your opinion my efforts in and for the Socialist movement during the past few years have been of such character as to consider me worthy of the honor tendered me at the city convention of the Social Democratic Party on July 4.

I accept the nomination for Mayor of New York. And I hope the Socialist movement may always have as much cause for confidence in me as I have confidence in Socialism for the working class.

In the coming campaign we will have to meet the big issues of the old parties as usual, and it is our mission in the political arena to show the working people that they are the same old defunct issues only dressed in modern disguise, and that our objects and our objects are ever the same: namely, the absolute liberation of the wealth-creating class from capitalism and wage-slavery and that we capture by ballot the law making, law judging, and law enforcing power of the country, which up to the present day has always been operated by and in the interest of our oppressors and to the detriment of us, the working class.

This recognizing the fact of the existing class antagonism, we as slaves have nothing to lose, we as men have nothing to fear.

It is impossible to lay too much stress upon this point of class-consciousness and class interest. It is the very heart of our organization, the blood of its arteries and the breath of its nostrils. Its vitality, its force, its spur, and energy, and our ever-growing strength centers and pivots upon this indispensable fact. It is of this granite rock we have built our fortress whose defenders cannot be bribed, whose votes cannot be bought.

Every wage-slave bears the brand and scar of capitalism. Let the light from the Socialist torch and the words of our agitators show each and every workingman and woman in whose hands are held the branding iron, show them that the wolf at the poor man's door is the business agent of capitalism.

Freedom and liberty will only come to labor when labor comes in a united body to the ballot box with but one ticket, and but one labor ballot.

The names on a Socialist ticket are but passing shadows, while the demand of our platform for liberty is immortal. Fraternally yours,

CHARLES L. FURMAN.

Following Comrade Furman's letter of acceptance, the City Executive and Campaign Committee of Greater New York issued the following appeal for campaign funds:

Call for Campaign Funds.
Fellow Workmen of the City of New York:—Once more the Social Democratic Party enters the field to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election. Party organizations in the above counties will see that they are represented at the convention.

NEW YORK COUNTY.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of New York County to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 22, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Workmen's Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

MANHATTAN BOROUGH.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Manhattan, to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 22, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Bronx Educational Association, 3309 Third Avenue, Borough of the Bronx, City of New York.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Brooklyn, to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 22, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Brooklyn Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

QUEENS BOROUGH.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Queens, to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 22, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Queens Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

RICHMOND BOROUGH.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Richmond, to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 22, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Richmond Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

WATCHING THE WAGE-SLAVES.

A Remarkable Capitalist Document.

National Metal Trades Association Reduces Exploitation to an Exact Science—Would Have the Workers Waste No Time to Answer Nature's Call.

The Worker has obtained and reprinted from time to time various secret circulars of the National Manufacturers' Association, the National Metal Trades Association, and other such employers' organizations, instructing their members in the latest methods of exploiting labor, fighting trade unionism and Socialism, and "influencing" legislation.

The circular letter given below—an exact copy of the latest document of the National Metal Trades Association—is, in some respects, the most remarkable which has yet fallen into our hands, showing as it does how capitalism is reducing slave-driving to an exact science so that no single moment of the unpaid time of the workers may, for any purpose whatever, be lost to the capitalist who makes a profit out of their labor.

Not content with "speeding up" machinery and intensifying labor in a thousand other ways, the employers are now becoming jealous of the performance of any natural bodily function which takes the wage-slave for a few moments from his task. The ideal workman of these gentlemen of elegant leisure is a profit-producer who would not need to "waste" time (THEIR time—for does not the time of the slave belong to the master?) for such unprofitable purposes as sleeping, eating, and other things now so lamentably necessary to the lazy workman who only works twelve or fourteen hours a day.

Not let this very frank document speak out for its own vile self:

"NATIONAL METAL TRADES ASSOCIATION.
Circular A-35.
Subject—Time of Men Wasted in Water-Closets.
July 17, 1903.
To the Members of the National Metal Trades Association.
Gentlemen:—Referring to the circular letter on this subject, dated June 24, your 'Commissioners' has received numerous replies. The replies seem to indicate that the practice of 'soldiering' in water-closets is one that has bothered many shop managers, although each seemed to think that he was the only person noticing it and that he should, therefore, feel a hesitancy about asking anyone else. In the light of this feeling, your Commissioners would urge every member to whom any sort of abuse becomes a matter of consideration, to take up the question and ask this office and get the combined wisdom of the membership in such regard.

"Most of the replies indicate that very few shops have any system, and a great many shops are at a loss as to how to regulate this matter. All the replies indicate an anxiety to know how it can be regulated.

"Some say that the sanitary establishments in their own particular establishments are uninviting and are in such dark corners that loitering therein becomes unpleasant, but with modern sanitation, keeping things clean and light, it would seem that loitering would increase rather than diminish.

"A number of replies are to the effect that the companies in order to correct this evil, have gone to the expense of locating the closets in the center of the shops, and having the doors so arranged that the person occupying the closet can be recognized; the door being high enough from the floor to see the legs of the occupant, and in some cases low enough for the foreman, in passing, to get a full view of the interior.

"Most shops leave the matter to the foreman with particular instructions to keep their eyes on the machines or workmen's places, and if they find same vacant, to make it their business to find out why the work is not going on, but it is manifest that the above is rather a lax method of regulation.

"Shops operating the premium system, or piece-work, do not seem to have much trouble in this regard. 'A general penalty for waste of time is first a warning and then discharge if continued.

"One member prohibits the use of newspapers or the carrying of newspapers in the closets and furnishes toilet paper.

"Some large shops give checks or check up the time on a regular time-keeping system, and in that way have an absolute knowledge of what is going on, and therefore have no complaints to make.

"One concern placed a time clock for this purpose.

"Another suggests that someone design a mechanical seat with a spring to be released by time clock after five minutes' occupation. Another suggests an automatic deluge of ice water after five minutes. A third suggestion along this line is that some electrical connection might be devised whereby after five minutes' occupancy of a seat, a bell would ring long and continuously.

"Where the closets are in regular washrooms the man in charge of the washroom seems to be charged with the duty of preventing waste of time, but some complaints are made on this score.

"It seems to be the general opinion that no particular set of rules is advisable beyond one, that cleanliness be maintained and loitering prohibited.

"One company took all of the doors off of the closets, making open stalls, and in front of the line of closets placed a partition, open below and about four feet six inches high.

"It would seem from all the above that some practical checking of time would be the only way to definitely regulate the abuse.

"Yours very truly,
"E. F. DU BRUL,
"Commissioner."

Surely such a picture of shameful

CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

[This powerful article is George D. Herron's contribution to the series on the A-B-C of Socialism in "The Socialist" of Seattle.]

I know that the term "class-consciousness" is offensive to many, both without and within the Socialist movement. I know that it is used in a way that often makes it seem like a tiresome and commonplace cant. Those who do not understand the history of the term mistake class-consciousness for class-baited. None the less, it remains true that until the working class becomes more vividly conscious of itself than it is now, until it realizes that it is the disinherited owner of the world that it builds on its own back, until it understands that there can be no possible identity of interest or reconciliation between itself and the employing or ruling class, its struggle toward emancipation will be blind and unintelligent, betrayed and baffled and compromised, and without that nobility and comprehension which should mark the greatest cause to which man has ever been summoned. In meeting the issues of life and society, we must begin with fact and not with sentiment. The class question is not as to whether we like to have classes or not; the question is: Are there classes in society as now constituted? And is the present constitution of society founded upon the division of the people into classes? And do class antagonisms and social destruction lie here in the nature of a class society? No one disputes the affirmative answer to this question. Not even the most horrified and sophistical opponent of the idea of the class struggle can deny the fact of the class structure of existing society. And if I am to do anything whatever, even as a social corollary, toward making the world equally good and resourceful and lovely for all men, I must begin with the fact that all we know of as civilization, up to the present time, has been the institutionalized expression and defense of one class of people living off another class. There are no words that can make hideous and ghastly enough, or vivid and revolutionary enough, this fact, that society, and its institutions are organized for the purpose of enabling some people to live off of other people—the few to live off the many. There is no language realistic enough, or possessed of sufficient integrity, to lay bare the chasm between the possessing class and the producing class; between the class that works and the class that reaps the fruits of that work; between the class that is girt for the great world-mill of economic might and the class that harvests the grain. And until the working class becomes conscious of itself as the only class that has a right to be, until the man who is down and bound understands that he is exploited and bound by the power which his own unpaid labor places in the hands of the capitalist, until we all clearly see that what we call civilization is but the organized and legalized robbery of the common labor, until we have a revolutionizing comprehension of the fact that our churches and governments, our arts and literatures, our educations and philosophies, our morals and manners, are all more or less expressions and deformities of this universal robbery, building themselves and drawing their life and motives upon and out of the vitals of the man who is down and unprivileged, out of his unpaid labor and exhausted life—until then, I say, our dreams and schemes of a common good or a better society are but phantasmagoria, our social and industrial reforms but self-deceit, and our weapons but the shadows of stupidity, of hypocrisy. A civilization that is fundamentally parasitical, that has its birth and breath and being in the power of one class to take what another class produces, cannot be so reformed or added to as to bring forth economic justice or any kind of emancipation; or so ordered as to procure equality of opportunity and free individuality.

It is not a question of individuals that we are discussing—not the distinction which our vulgar and brutal moralists make between the so-called good and the so-called bad; it is a question of the quality of civilization. I am defining or characterizing the civil-

ization we now have as a universal or impersonal beast of prey, expressing the power of the ruling and possessing class to absorb and to convert into ever-increasing power to absorb, the whole output of the life and labor of humanity. There have never existed other than predatory civilizations, up to the present time; and their institutions and morals and creeds have but served to keep the people submissive to the degradations of the ruling class. To this and have the powers that might happen to be at any given time always been invented with the superstition, menace and hypocrisy of a divine origin.

Yet strip possessing class institutions of their vestures of fraud and force and you behold only the stolid or cunning parasite. Take the standing armies of the world, with their millions of men taken from productive labor to be supported by the labor of others, and compelled to serve and revere a glorified criminality—for certainly nothing is so low in the scale of human occupations, so loathsome and really cowardly, as the modern military, with its plumes of loot and murder. Take this military system, and look at it, and consider whence it comes. What are its guns and navies, its bespangled officers and bedazzled ranks? They are the forcibly withheld and parasitically consumed labor of the laborer. That which glitters on the officers' shoulder-straps is the unpaid labor of the conscriptive girl in the sweatshop, or of the miner in the Virginia coal mines. The annual orgy and pandemonium of capitalist prostitution, that breaks out at Washington and yet solemnly commands the sacred respect of seventy millions of people—whereas and what are its power, its disposal of the affairs of the nation, its billion-dollar disbursements? It is all the unpaid and ravished labor of the laborer. It is unpaid labor that is lower in the scale of our churches, that sits in our legislatures, that builds palaces on the avenue, that blossoms in our shameless fashions, that drowns in our academies and rituals, that produces our war novels and our insipid poetry, that raises our shameless ideals of "the strenuous life," or sings in Mr. Kipling's heroic ballads. Our published thoughts, our party and service songs, the awfulness of a world that builds its glories and its gods, its temples of trade and law and religion, its forms of beauty and systems of government, upon an economic might that is but conventionalized robbery of the common labor of mankind. The history of the world is but the struggle between unpaid labor and those who possess its fruits; and the struggle must go on until the man who is down shall be purified and enlightened to get up, until the man who works shall have the whole result of his work, until every class but the working class has ceased to be, with every member of that class a creator and a poet, a philosopher and a dreamer, and a soul of endless beauty.

The danger to our American Socialist movement is not that it may array class against class. Our danger is that we may have a Socialist movement that is not class-conscious; a Socialist movement that shall concede some identity or reconciliation of interest between labor and parasitism; a Socialist movement that shall accept the enthusiasm of discarded politicians or evangelists, or bow down to the wooden images of middle-class moralists. I am not speaking as a Marxist or a dogmatist, and I know that Socialists may be given to phrases that become a cant quite as repulsive as the cant of religious moralism and its orthodoxy. And I know, and am constantly urging, that the Socialist propaganda of Europe will not answer for America without being recast in the spirit and moulds of American experience and history. But I do speak as one who believes that the integrity and achievements of the Socialist movement, that the quality and finality of the freedom and justice it may win for men, will depend upon a comprehension of the class structure, class antagonisms, and parasitical nature of the society that now is. And all this to the end that it may do away with all classes forever, and that there may be one people, with one common joy and well-being, and one timeless movement toward perfect and universal harmony.

and humiliating slavery as this, such an evidence of the commercial valuation of the worker as a mere living machine for grinding out profits, should arouse the spirit of revolt, teach the necessity of solidarity in labor's struggle, and awake the determination to utterly do away with the industrial system of private capitalism from which such slavery springs, in the breast of every workman who has yet left a spark of manhood.

—The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

—The Arm and Torch is the emblem of Socialism on the official ballot in New York.

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

—The Union Made Union

NEW YORK.
 Kangaroos are welcome.
 No line drawn on smaller animals.

PARTY NEWS.

National.

The following contributions have been received for the Special Organizing Fund since last report: Sixth Assembly District, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$2; Max Brodsky, Sioux City, Iowa, \$2; H. H. Meyers, Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, Sandusky, Ohio, by purchase of five shares in the Chas. H. Kerr Co-operative Publishing Company, donated by Wm. English Walling, \$50; Patriot, Knoxville, Tenn., \$5; Two comrades, by purchase of shares in the Chas. H. Kerr Company, donated by Wm. English Walling, \$25; Hermine Schreiber, Chicago, Ill., \$1; A. Comrade, Evanston, Ill., \$1; Julius Bernard and Ed. Johnson, Hamilton, Montana, \$1.50; Local Porterville, Cal., \$1.50; Luzerne County Committee, Pennsylvania, \$5; total to noon August 8, \$90; previously reported, \$70.57; total, \$160.57. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. have sent in \$110 in all for the organizing fund, on the offer made by William E. Walling, and there are fourteen more shares of stock for sale which will bring \$140, if comrades will avail themselves of the opportunity. The shares sold for ten dollars each, and the money is given to the organizing fund. Address Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 26 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill., for particulars.

The revised list of Labor Day speakers, for whom engagements can be made through the national headquarters, is as follows: J. Mahlon Barnes, John W. Brown, Chas. L. Becken, Geo. E. Doumer, Paul H. Castle, W. R. Clark, Isaac Cowen, W. W. Davis, N. P. Gleizer, H. A. Gibbs, Walter Huggins, Frank Jordan, F. A. Kulp, Courtney Lenon, Granville Lowther, L. D. Mayes, William Mahoney, A. G. Miller, James Ouch, R. H. Sherrill, John F. Taylor, Ernest Untermyer, Prof. Thos. E. Will, Joseph Wright, Comrade John C. Chase, Algernon Lee, A. W. Ricker, and John Spargo have been engaged. Communications regarding terms, etc., should be addressed to the National Secretary, Omaha, Neb. It should be understood that the national headquarters is making no charge to either organizations or speakers for making arrangements for Labor Day, the work being done merely to facilitate matters for the organizations who desire Socialist speakers on that occasion.

"Il Proletario," the Italian Socialist paper in New York City, is now being published as a daily. Although still supporting the S. L. P., it treats the Socialist Party fairly. It devotes itself to fighting capitalism, not to perpetuating division in the Socialist ranks. In a recent number it published an extended interview with the editor of The Worker, setting forth the position of our party.

In his weekly report to the National Committee, under date of August 3, National Secretary Mally reported as follows:

Actions of Quorum: Further information requested as to terms, liabilities, etc., concerning Central Lecture Bureau; proposed tour of Geo. E. Higelow endorsed. Referred to Quorum; correspondence with Walter Thomas Mills, relative to non-receipt of mail sent from this office bearing upon protest of Nebraska Quorum and H. M. McKee, and other correspondence to him as National Committee member; request from Local Dallas, Texas, that National Organizer Goebel be placed in that city for three weeks beginning Oct. 1; request from Haverhill, Mass., that John W. Brown be placed in that vicinity for one week to offset opposition of capitalist press. Actions of National Committee: Carey, Illinois, Cladin approved the semi-annual report and printing of same.

National Secretary has received list of subscribers in unorganized states from "Los Angeles Socialist" and "Wishah's Magazine." George D. Horan, International Secretary, reports that there is nothing to report to the National Committee at present. Sent invitation to August Rebel in accordance with instructions of Quorum. Letter of endorsement of the plan to establish a course of lessons in Socialism under direction of the National Committee, received from Local Elgin, Ill. Semi-annual report has been sent to all local and state secretaries.

In answer to inquiry regarding work in Pennsylvania, Eugene V. Debs states that his time is already booked for October and some of September. If not able to comply with request of National Committee, it will be because of prior engagements. Should be able to give time as requested, his services will be given without charge.

The National Secretary has received lists of subscribers in unorganized states from The Worker, "Wishah's Magazine" and the "Social Democratic Herald." The "Appeal to Reason" has sent the list of Kansas readers to assist in Comrade Higelow's tour. The "Coming Nation" will do the same.

What the National Organizers Are Doing.

Ben Hanford will begin his Western tour at Philadelphia, on Saturday, Aug. 22. The following dates have now been arranged: Williamsport, Pa., Aug. 24; Connersport, Pa., Aug. 25; Erie, Pa., Aug. 26; Conneaut, Ohio, Aug. 27; Hanford will be the Labor Day speaker at Cleveland, Ohio.

John C. Chase concluded his work for the national party at Mt. Vernon, N. Y., July 28, going thence to Massachusetts preparatory to his touring Maine for the State Committee. Besides the Mt. Vernon date, meetings at Peekskill, Tonawanda, New Rochelle, Long Island, New York, and Brooklyn covered Chase's last week under the direction of the national office. During his entire Southern tour Chase visited 117 cities and towns in seventeen states and territories, addressing one or more meetings in each place. Besides the regular engagements, extra meetings of trade unions and similar organizations were spoken to, upon request. Eight days were spent in Arkansas, arranging for a state organization, two days in Philadelphia for the striking textile

workers, and eight days in Kentucky at the expense of the national office. The floods and washouts of May and June caused the delay of several days in Missouri and Tennessee, involving confusion and increased expense, and preventing dates being made for the return journey. The unorganized condition of the territory, necessitating long distances between meetings and high expense made the tour a difficult one. Three thousand miles was covered in Texas alone. Nearly thirty locals were organized, directly or indirectly through Chase's efforts. The financial report for the trip was as follows: Salary, Jan. 13 to July 20, \$300; local, \$270.25; railroad, \$400.11; total, \$1,270.36; receipts, \$284.55; leaving a cost to the national office of \$985.81 for the entire tour.

John Spargo spent eighteen days altogether during July among the striking textile workers of Philadelphia and vicinity. He addressed twenty-five meetings in all, some of them being at places where Mother Jones' army of striking child workers were assembled. Nine of the meetings were indoors. The Philadelphia strike agitation committee speaks in high terms of Spargo's work, and says that "the national office could not have sent a better man for the occasion." Financial statement shows the following expenses: Salary (\$18 days), \$54; railroad fare, \$11.80; hotel and miscellaneous, \$33.30; total, \$99.10.

During John Ray's recent work in Alabama, from July 5 to July 23, he visited Athens, Decatur, Birmingham, Delonite, Adger, Belle Stumper, Blocton, Brookside, Lipscomb, Brighton, Bessemer and New Decatur. New locals were formed at Adger, Belle Stumper, Brighton, and Delonite with over 100 members. Ray addressed twenty-five meetings in all, mostly among the miners, 12,000 of whom were idle through a suspension of work, pending a wage scale settlement with the operators. State Secretary Waldhorst speaks enthusiastically of Ray's work, and says he gave old locals a fresh spirit as well as organizing the new ones. Comrade Johnson of Bessemer reports the meeting at Brighton a most successful one, and tells how Ray captured a Citizens' meeting and turned it into a Socialist one.

Since entering Washington on June 23, Comrade Wilkins addressed nineteen meetings, all successful, up to August 1. He reports: "I have been busied much in my work in Washington. State Secretary Moore deputized Charles Hart of Washington to make ten or twelve dates for me in Clark County, beginning at Vancouver on June 22. On June 29 Hart notified me that owing to widespread small pox public meetings were forbidden in that county. Hence I came to Seattle, June 23, and found that no dates were made for me. Pending arrangements, I spoke at Charleston, Seattle, Ballard, Renton, Fremont, and Green Lake. In the meanwhile Comrade Moore was taken very sick and remained in bed three weeks. As he had all arrangements in hand this broke into him and caused delay and loss of time. I have had to work with Acting Secretary Curtis to arrange a route and meetings. This will make my receipts low for July, but I expect to make up later, as it looks as if things will go smoothly from now on." The national office is in receipt of letters from places visited by Comrade Wilkins, highly commending his work.

George H. Goebel's two meetings at Wilmington, Del., resulted in an English branch being formed, and arrangements will be made through Comrade Ella Reeve Cohen for speakers to address more meetings in Delaware. At Baltimore, Goebel attended a conference of forty comrades looking to form a state organization. At Washington a fairly good meeting was held indoors, and at Alexandria, Va., a very attentive audience attended an open-air meeting. Goebel went next to Freeport, Wilmington, and Spring Church, Pa., after which he spent two days in Greater Pittsburgh for the South Side branch. Comrade Donaldson writes that both meetings, one indoors the other open air, were very successful. All of his dates were not cancelled in the Wheeling district. He is in Hagerstown, Md., from August 8 to 13, and in Norfolk, Va., from August 14 to 20.

Comrade Geo. E. Higelow of Lincoln, Neb., will begin a tour of Kansas for agitation and organization purposes on Monday, August 17, under the direction of the national headquarters. The dates arranged so far are as follows: Heward, Aug. 17; Beloit, 19; Hite, 20; Clyde, 21; Clay Center, 22; Junction City, 24 and 25; Abeline, 26; Acme, 27; Minneapolis, 28; Salina, 29; Canton, 31; Lyons, Sep. 1; McPherson, 3; Canton, 5; Hutchinson, 4 and 5; Wichita, 7 and 8; and Eldorado, 9.

New York State.

A large delegation of Social Democrats from Watertown visited Black River recently and held a street meeting, which was addressed by Comrade Thomas Pendergast. The meeting drew a crowd who listened attentively to the arguments of the speaker. The Watertown comrades will try to organize a local in Black River in the near future.

Comrade John J. Hecker writes from Peekskill: "Since Fieldman's arrest we are meeting with less opposition from the workers, but have more from the shirkers. Mr. Knapp, one of our 'respectables,' wanted to stop Mother Jones' meeting, claiming that his wife had nervous prostration and could not stand the noise. We told him we did not make half as much noise as the Salvation Army, which holds meetings with drums and tambourines right in front of his residence. To this he argued, his wife got used. We told him Socialist agitation is another thing his wife would have to get used to. People commented on the street: 'If a Socialist meeting gives the 'respectables' nervous prostration, what will a local Socialist government give them some day?' Everyone was pleased with Chase. People are asking when we are going to have another speaker. The local appointed a committee of two to go to a little banquet four miles below Peekskill to prepare the ground for an organization. We

will get names and send them. The Workers for three months. We have comrades, who were blacklisted in Peekskill because of his activity in the trade-union and Socialist movements, working at Poughkeepsie and doing good work for the cause. We sent him literature and he sent him more. We are taking care of Croton and Verplanck's Point."

Sol Fieldman is doing pioneer work in out of the way corners of the state never before reached by Socialist agitation. With headquarters in Port Jervis, he is holding meetings in Sparrowbush, Goshen, and other places. He will remain in this vicinity for some time, as he expects to organize some locals. The comrades out in the state should be a little more generous in supporting Sol Fieldman. He is ploughing the virgin soil for Socialism. There are no \$50 per speech fees attached to his work. He is working most of the time for his victuals and a place to rest his head. He has no press agent to herald and acclaim him as the wonder of the age. Some are prone, for this very reason, to undervalue the work of speakers who do not charge high fees and are not adept in the art of putting their own reputations, notwithstanding the sterling qualities of their work. But Sol Fieldman meets the situation cheerfully and is in a position to work for the cause. He acknowledges warmly the good will of Peekskill and Middletown comrades.

The State Committee meets at the Labor Lyceum, 61 East Fourth Street, New York, on Saturday evening, August 15.

Last Saturday evening at Buffalo Comrades Whitman and Fitter held an open-air crowd for an hour and a half. There is every reason to think that the picnic to be held this Sunday, August 16, at Tutuola Park, Buffalo, by the trade-unionists and Socialists in the territory stretching from Erie to Buffalo, will be a great success.

The Rochester comrades believe in expansion. They expand their propaganda far beyond the city and even the county limits. They are hammering the truths of Socialism into intervened minds in adjacent towns every Saturday night. Last Saturday evening Comrades Bach and Mabe spoke to an enthusiastic open-air meeting at Macedon, while Comrades Lippett and Van Auker were addressing an immense crowd at Palmyra, five miles away. While Comrade Van Auker was speaking at Palmyra the Chief of Police commanded him to stop, but he informed the lackey of capitalism that the constitution of the United States guaranteed to all men the right of free speech and peaceful assembly, and Comrade Lippett, who followed, gave this official Chief to understand that the permission of the President of the Village had been secured. At the "house-warming" of the new headquarters of Local Rochester, last Friday evening, the rooms were crowded to the doors. City convention will be held next Friday.

Mother Jones spoke in Yonkers last Friday evening and held a crowd estimated by the local press at two thousand. The campaign is on and meetings are held every two weeks, the last speaker before Mother Jones being Comrade Chase. Primaries were held on Aug. 6 and our city convention takes place on Aug. 17. Literature is being distributed and the comrades are getting busy and expect a healthy increase in Election Day. Yonkers' chief difficulty is a lack of speakers and the local comrades may try to get all the agitators they can get.

New York City.

A general meeting of all the delegates to the various agitation district committees, and the speakers, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 15, 8 p. m., at the W. E. Clubhouse, 206 E. Eighty-sixth street, for the purpose of agreeing upon a systematic and uniform plan of carrying on the agitation during the campaign. This meeting is of the utmost importance and should be attended by every agitation district delegate. At present the strongest delegates get all the speakers and agitation in other districts, where better results might be obtained, is neglected. To cope with this difficulty and to solve the problem of getting more speakers is the object of this meeting.

On last June 12 a mass meeting was held in Jamaica for the purpose of organizing an independent political party in the Fourth Ward, Borough of Queens, the call being issued by the members of various trade unions, who had become dissatisfied with existing conditions. A new political party was launched, called the United Labor and People's party, and it was afterwards incorporated with the Secretary of State at Albany and held frequent meetings, which were well attended.

At some of these meetings Comrade Chris Bub, organizer of Queens and other members of the Social Democratic Party became acquainted with William Goeller, Jr., Chairman of the Organization Committee, and other members of the new party, and as a result of discussion it was finally agreed that a meeting of the United Labor and People's party be called at which Social Democratic speakers could have an opportunity to present the platform and principles of the Social Democratic Party and to endeavor to convince the members of the S. D. P. instead of starting a new party. At this meeting Dr. Furman, who is now the Social Democratic candidate for Mayor, and several other speakers were present. Comrade Furman made an eloquent appeal to those present to join the Social Democratic Party, saying: "We cannot take your party into our ranks as a whole, but we can take you in as individual members and then you can organize your own branch and conduct your business for this section as best you can to further the interests of the Social Democratic Party, being entitled to all its rights and duties of membership. At the close of Comrade Furman's address, William Goeller, Jr., expressed his willingness to sign the first application for membership in the S. D. P., and then made a motion that the question of joining the S. D. P. be left to the Committee on Organization, which was carried. This com-

mittee has the new by-laws providing for a financial secretary, Comrade U. Solomon was nominated for that office, & Solomon was elected auditor for State Committee.

Ohio Organization.

There are now more members-at-large in the Socialist Party of Ohio than ever before in the history of the organization.

A new local has been organized at Barberton, Ohio, by Frank N. Preyer of Akron. The new local promises to develop rapidly.

The State Secretary has issued a special election instruction letter to all locals in the state for their guidance in nominating tickets this fall. These instructions should be followed carefully.

Over twenty open air agitation meetings in Dayton, Ohio, the past week. Hynes and Glickert have been speaking twice a day.

The amended state constitution of Ohio is being printed by the "Ohio Socialist," beginning with the second issue, under date of Aug. 8.

The State Committee of Ohio are voting on a referendum to place Frank P. O'Hare and Geo. H. Kirkpatrick upon the circuits again in the early part of September.

Ben Hanford will be the Labor Day speaker at Cleveland and Eugene V. Debs will be the orator at Youngstown on the same day.

Frank P. O'Hare, Howard H. Caldwell, Rev. H. W. Smith, M. J. Hynes, and W. G. Critchlow are open for Labor Day engagements in Ohio. Write to the State Secretary for details.

At Corning, Ohio, the postmaster did not like the "Coming Nation" that were sent there to Howard H. Caldwell for distribution, so he took it upon himself to dump them into the gutter near the postoffice. Fortunately Caldwell discovered them and the bundle of 230 were saved. The postmaster received a severe reprimand and the proper officials at Washington were notified of the occurrence. Comrades take warning by this incident, and if you do not get your papers on time always investigate the local postoffice first, for many occurrences of this kind have of late come to light, and although it is hard to believe that there is an understanding between these postmasters, yet all evidence points that way.

Zanesville, Cleveland, Ironton, Barberton, and Bainbridge are all new additions to the circuits, either for new dates or for additional ones.

The Watson comrades are working like beavers these days, and they promise to develop unexpected strength this fall, both in the party vote and in the organization proper.

The various mills in Toronto, Ohio, have again started to work and the Socialists are again found pushing the work there with all the energy they possess.

Bellefontaine Socialists have organized and will soon affiliate with the state organization. They are now arranging for speakers and will try to have a good man for Labor Day.

Cincinnati Socialists held their county convention last Sunday and nominated a strong ticket for the fall election. This city will bear watching in the future, for they are noted for doing things, and no doubt will keep up their excellent record when the votes are counted next November.

New Jersey News.

The mayor of Plainfield refused Comrade Frederick Kraft a permit for street meetings, but finally consented to grant same for vacant lots. None suitable for an open-air meeting could be found, but Kraft distributed much literature. Meeting at Morristown was very successful, even New York papers publishing the startling intelligence that an incident race riot occurred during his "harangue." Great enthusiasm was shown at this meeting in Dorchester and Paterson and literature eagerly purchased. Kraft writes: "New Jersey is in great need of speakers. Absolutely no organization in Plainfield and New Brunswick. The Worker proved to be an eye-opener and its circulation in New Jersey should be pushed energetically."

Comrade C. L. Furman spent a short vacation in Westfield, N. J., and held two splendid meetings, one in a hall and the other in the open-air. The local comrades are enthusiastic over his clear exposition of Socialism.

Comrade Ferdinand Ufert of West Hoboken, one of the "Volkskammern" staff, and Comrade Emily R. Krueger were married at Arlington by our Socialist magistrate, Comrade Victor, on Aug. 6. The couple received hearty congratulations in the form of a speech from Peter B. Burrows of Brooklyn and some appropriate little wedding gifts from the comrades present. Comrade Burrows remarks: "It was an occasion where a good precedent for this interesting episode of life was set. The civil person proved himself to be a little dabbler before the couple and refrained from the usual custom of holding up the victims for fees before they enjoyed the right to be happy in an orthodox."

Local Essex County, N. J., has elected Comrade Wheeler County Organizer. Comrades Wheeler and Hesper were chosen to call on the City Clerk of Newark for information in regard to the new primary law and are expected to report to the County Committee on Aug. 18.

Massachusetts Movement.

At last meeting the Socialist Party club of Malden, Mass., voted to order 800 copies of The Worker per week during the campaign.

A grand picnic will be held under the auspices of the State Committee at

New Dorland Landing (formerly known as Lovell's Grove) on Labor Day, Sept. 7. This will be the largest outdoor affair ever held under the auspices of the Socialists of this State. The grounds engaged are well lighted; there is a rustic theatre for speaking, fine dancing pavilion, baseball grounds and good track for sports and running races. Tickets will be sent to every club in the state, and it is earnestly requested that all comrades rush the sale of the same. The State Committee is in great need of funds to conduct the coming campaign, and every dollar turned in for tickets will help to fund such speakers and literature to the clubs and city and town committees at nominal cost. Buy tickets, even though you cannot come and thus help your Executive Committee in their efforts to roll up a big vote this fall. Considerable money must be raised to pay the advance expense, so the sale must be pushed at once and receipts turned in as rapidly as possible to J. Harry Page, Secretary of the Picnic Committee, 193 Washington Street, Boston.

The resignation of Charles Stevenson, formerly a member of the Socialist Town Committee of Clinton, Mass., was asked by that body on account of his membership in the state militia. The letter of the committee read, in part: "It is the unanimous opinion of your associates on the Socialist Town Committee that your action in joining the militia is in violation of the spirit and aim of the great world-wide Socialist movement of which the Socialist Party of Clinton is an integral part, which stands for the emancipation of the race from capitalistic exploitation, and in every way opposes the existing spirit of militarism now fostered and kept alive by the capitalist class for the sole purpose of further enslaving the workers. . . . The present structure of government is the creation of the ruling class. That being so, the militia is part of the equipment of capitalist society. . . . Your membership on the Socialist Town Committee is not desired by the other members thereof, and by vote of the committee your resignation is asked for." The capitalist press is wildly excited about Socialist and trade-union opposition as usual when they see that the working class is beginning to open its eyes to its own interests.

Comrades John W. Bennett and J. W. Wilson of Sioux City are campaigning in Northern and Western Iowa.

The referendum returns on the state constitution show that the hands of the secretary not later than Aug. 10. But few locals have reported so far.

Comrade Ellis Fox of Cresco has been elected State Committeeman for the Fourth Congressional District, and Comrade J. S. Burrell of Logan as Committeeman for the Ninth District.

The following comrades have made application as members-at-large: Albert L. Schroeder, Keokuk; Ross J. Miller, North English; and C. J. Thorngren, Decorah.

Iowa Items.

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Iowa paid national dues on 270 members for July.

The prospects are good of Winterset again showing on the Socialist map of Iowa shortly. Comrade G. W. Davis made a speech there and reports that they are very much alive and will reorganize at once.

The following amounts have been contributed to the organizing fund during the past week: John M. Work, \$5; R. H. Schlatter and J. J. Wilson, 25 cents each; R. C. Cathcart and R. Warner, 50 cents each (all of Des Moines); subscription blank circulated in Boone, \$2.75; D. S. Ehrhart, 50 cents; and J. S. Burrell, \$1 (both of Logan); total, \$8.75. Previously reported, \$24.20.

The State Committee has by referendum vote adopted resolutions providing for an auditing committee of two to be elected by the branch where headquarters is located, and has endorsed Comrades J. W. Bennett and J. W. Wilson of Sioux City as State Organizers, the Ohio plan to govern on all work referred to them by the State Committee.

The Des Moines campaign tent has been tendered to the State Committee during state fair week.

Pennsylvania Propaganda.

A general meeting of the Socialists of Luzerne County will be held at headquarters, 16 South Main Street, Wilkes-Barre, next Tuesday evening, Aug. 18, at 8 sharp. A large attendance is looked for as plans will be outlined for an unusually active fall campaign.

Williamsburg, the "Holy City," a pretty residential town in the suburbs of Pittsburgh, despite its depressing air of orthodox respectability, now has a local of the Socialist Party, one which gives every promise of being as wide-awake and interesting as any in the district. In connection with this local we had a visit from Comrade Goebel on Aug. 8. An open-air street corner meeting, unless in connection with the churches, is something very shocking to Williamsburg. However, he held his very shocking thing, and our meeting was a great success. Comrade Goebel had a large, attentive, and intelligent audience, who listened to him for nearly two hours.

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organization there in fine shape. Comrade William Adams, of Wilkesburg, has been elected organizer of Allegheny County. It has been decided that the seat of the County Committee will be at Wilkesburg. Local Lansford is anxious for agitation and asks to be placed on the speakers' circuit. Local Sellersville pledges itself to pay at least \$1 per month towards the liquidation of the state debt and asks to be enrolled in the speakers' circuit, which is about to be formed. Comrade Spargo will be the principal speaker at Connelville on Labor Day and Comrade George Ward of Erie will speak at Warren, Pa. Hausto reports that the organization is progressing very nicely there. Freeport reports that Comrade Goebel spoke to an audience of about two hundred people there on July 31. Comrade John W. Slayton will be the principal speaker in Reading on Labor Day. Media reports doing pretty well. Williamsburg in fifteen applications for membership and says Comrade Goebel spoke to a large outdoor meeting and did much good. Luzerne County Committee say that it is encouraging to see some of the new blood that is coming in and will no doubt be heard from in the near future. Hazleton wants to be enrolled in the speakers' circuit and says there has been a great change of public sentiment in favor of Socialism there since last summer, and all that is necessary now is to agitate and crystallize it. The excursion of the Socialist Party and the Workingmen's Singing Society of Philadelphia on Aug. 9 was not so numerically successful as was anticipated, on account of the weather, but did much to arouse the enthusiasm of the comrades. Addresses were made at Glen Onoko by comrades from Pottstown, Coalville, Hazleton, Lansford, Mauch Chunk, and Philadelphia, and altogether the comrades had an enjoyable time. Comrade Edward Kuppinger has been elected Treasurer of the State Committee to fill the vacancy caused by the removal of Comrade Joe. Edelmann to California. A resolution of appreciation for his faithful services was tendered to Comrade Edelmann by the Committee. Local Philadelphia has pledged itself to pay \$3 a month toward paying off the state debt. Local Springchurn donated \$1 toward the state fund.

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Michigan Matters.

State Secretary Lamb issues the following appeal: "There are signs of a coming stampede of voters into the Socialist Party in many parts of Michigan. Friends are becoming greatly interested. The work of the state organizer's office has increased since beyond expectations, and present facilities are entirely inadequate for the transaction of the large business which is piling up. The solution is better facilities. Regular state headquarters must be equipped and opened up. We need a typewriter, furniture, stationery, a job printing outfit and material. Without these the work from now on will drag. We now have 170 'stations' on our list, and not less than 800 comrades doing local work at these stations. We have seven speakers on our circuits, and should increase the number to ten or twelve without delay. Besides the routing of these speakers, the presswork, and correspondence connected with this branch of the work, we have much new work to do. We must extend our circuit system and organize locals, transform our present soap-box circuit system into a regular lecture circuit system for winter work, and organize committees in every possible county and town, in readiness for next summer's campaign. The outfit necessary for this work will cost not less than \$500. It is needed right now. We have got to raise that money and expand our facilities to meet the increased demands. The equipment would be the property of the Socialist Party of Michigan. The state organizer asks Michigan Socialists to send in their nickels, dimes, quarters, dollars, five, tens, and twenties, each according to his ability. We are punching holes in the enemy. We have them on the point of wavering; things are coming our way and we must get ready for the rush. We have been doing lots of work in Michigan. Equip your headquarters with a business outfit right now and we will proceed to pulverize them."

"I am making this step because it is impossible to be sane, and not revolt, be sane and not take my place shoulder to shoulder with my comrades, the toilers, in the fight to overthrow the capitalist system. I am not making a sacrifice by giving up my easy life, comforts, friends and social connections. These mean nothing to me in the face of my own present slavery, and the control of the sources of life by organized greed. I do not expect the gratitude of the toilers for taking up their fight. It is my right, and must fight to be a man. It is the work of Alexander M. Birton, pastor of the M. E. Church at Imley City, Michigan, who has decided to enter actively upon the campaign for Socialism. His conclusion has not been arrived at hastily, but is the result of strong conviction. No steps have yet been taken to depose him from his ministry, but it is understood that he will voluntarily retire at the close of his conference year in September. He will hereafter devote all his exceptional abilities to Socialism. State Secretary Lamb is glad to hear him. The field of work is wide and new. Dates have been given him upon Michigan circuits, beginning at Silverwood, Aug. 17.

The dates of speakers on the Michigan circuits are as follows: William E. Walter: Shelby, Aug. 12; Reutwater, Aug. 13; Ludington, Aug. 14; Manistow, Aug. 15 and 17; Dr. R. A. Knopf: Owasco, Aug. 12 and 13; Flint, Aug. 14, 15 and 16; Saginaw, Aug. 17 and 20; Sault Ste. Marie, Aug. 10 and 11; Charlevoix, Aug. 12 and 13; Rev. A. M. Birton: Silverwood, Aug. 17; Mayville, Aug. 18; Brown City, Aug. 19; Marquette, Aug. 20; Dryden, Aug. 21; Ira Cross: Easton, Aug. 10; Charlotte, Aug. 11; Nanton Rapids, Aug. 12; Leslie, Aug. 13; Stockbridge, Aug. 14; Hamburg, Aug. 15 and 16; Walled Lake, Aug. 17; Pontiac, Aug. 18; Frank A. Kulp: Otsego, Aug. 20; Grand Rapids, Aug. 20; Muskegon, Aug. 21. James Allman: Jackson,

A SKETCH OF REBEL.

The "Fortnightly Review" has an interesting article on August Rebel, "the leader of the strongest party in Germany." It is written by Miss Emily Sellers, who gives the following character sketch of the personality of the famous Social Democrat: "Even Mrs. Bebel's enemies admit that as a parliamentary orator he is without a rival in Germany. Some of his speeches, indeed, are perfect models of eloquence, original in content and terse and vigorous in style. His language is singularly beautiful; and the fates have given him one of the very sweetest voices in all Europe. He has not, it is true, that power of exciting wild enthusiasm which his colleague, Herr Liebknecht, possessed. For that he is himself too many-sided, perhaps—too 'sweetly reasonable,' his friends could say. None the less, he is by far the most convincing speaker in the Reichstag. There is a certain fatalistic ring about many of his utterances which is in itself singularly impressive. As men listen to him a curious and eminently unpleasant sense of the inevitableness of the changes he advocates steals over them; the very calmness with which he enunciates his doctrines seems to render them more incontrovertible. Although there is rarely a trace of violence in his speeches, until within quite recent days they were undoubtedly somewhat ruthless in tone, for he is the veriest Mohammed in his views as to the measures to be meted out to his opponents; he smites them hip and thigh when they fall into his power."

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HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

By Leonard D. Abbott.

It seems to me that the strangest paradox of our twentieth-century civilization is bound up in the fact that, though we have learned many things, we have not learned how to live. We know how to span the earth and sea with mechanism that would appear supernatural to men of an earlier generation; we have invented industrial machinery that makes it possible for five to do the work of five hundred; we have devised elaborate systems of science and philosophy, religion and sociology, but we have not learned how to live.

Here we are in the United States, seventy millions of us. Our country is rich and fertile. It is capable of producing a thousandfold more than we can use. Our people are clever and resourceful. Their capacity for achievement is boundless. Given such a country and such a people, one would naturally suppose that our social life would be a strong and beautiful. One would suppose that we would all of us have enough and more than enough of the material things of life, and that over and beyond this material basis the people would share a great intellectual, moral, spiritual heritage. I say that one would naturally suppose these things. For if society exists for anything, it exists for this: to promote the greatest good of the greatest number.

As a matter of fact the conditions are almost exactly the opposite of what might reasonably be expected. It may be said with little exaggeration that present-day society produces not the greatest good of the greatest number, but the greatest harm of the greatest number. The majority of the people in the world today, the majority of people in the United States today, have not enough even of the material things. Their lives are lived amid a mean and narrow, if not actually squalid, environment. There is one word that sums up the whole situation. We say and we know that the majority of the people in the world today are POOR.

Let us consider for a moment the modern city. Let us consider the city of New York.

There are three principal classes in New York. One in London, Paris or Berlin. There is first of all a very rich class, comparatively small in number. It is composed for the most part of capitalists and commercial magnates, who live in palatial residences up and down Fifth Avenue and in other aristocratic districts of the city. There is, secondly, a large middle-class population, housed in comfortable brownstone fronts and occupying many side-streets and cross-streets. This class is made up of business men and small proprietors of all kinds. Lastly, there is the greatest class of all, the wage-earning class, the working class. The workingmen and women are mostly very poor; they make up the bulk of the population on the great fostering East Side; they live in sordid tenements, crowded and unhealthy.

To sum up, the modern city shows us a capitalist class, very rich; an enormous working class, very poor; and a middle class bridging over the gulf between the two.

On one side of our city the palaces of luxury, the Waldorf-Astoria, the Sherry, the Delmonico, where men spend in a night more than working people earn in a week. And just across the city—almost within a stone's throw—are the Bowery and the tenements, in, and human waste and degradation so great, so horrible, that it makes one shudder to think of it.

Can such a city be considered in any sense a united or prosperous community? Can it be said that such a city has learned the first rudiments of strong or beautiful living? Quite obviously no.

And as we extend our view over the length and breadth of the land, the same kind of a spectacle everywhere meets our eyes. On all sides the men who are doing the most useful work of the world—the men who are growing the food we eat, and weaving the clothes we wear, and building the houses we live in—are poor. On every hand the work of the world is being done in mean, dingy surroundings, and the men who are doing it are paid too little for doing it, and are compelled to work very long hours in doing it. The very children, the boys and girls, are forced to bear the burden of this industrial tragedy. And out of all our toil and sweat we have created a world against which every fine spirit must be in rebellion, a world lacking in every essential of harmony, beauty, and stability.

Now if all the evolution of the world has been simply for this—that we should build up a social order of poverty, a society dominated by a clique of capitalists, that we should become helpless passengers in a ship of state guided by J. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller—there would be cause for even the stoutest-hearted to despair.

It would mean that the dream of democracy had been suppressed by the actuality of industrial feudalism, and that we had chosen to substitute oligarchy for majority rule. But it cannot be that the present stage of society is anything but transient. We are already beginning to pass out of it and the vistas are opening up beyond. A few of us at least are demanding genuine democracy, an industrial democracy, and will be satisfied with nothing less.

It is plain that we cannot have any real democracy so long as a few men own the things to which all men must have access in order to live. So long as we cannot have access to land, ex-

cept by permission of the landlord; so long as we cannot have access to the machinery of production, except on the terms dictated by a capitalist or a class of capitalists—we are not free men. We can only be free men by ourselves controlling the machinery of life, instead of allowing it, like a Frankenstein, to control us. We become democrats and free men, in the real sense, only when as a people, we collectively own and control the resources of life, ceasing to be employees of any man or class, and becoming employers of ourselves in the work and business of life.

The whole impulse of world-evolution to-day is driving us on to this goal. To the realization of this ideal of Social Democracy the Socialist movement of the world is committed, and it is the one positive force in world-politics.

We are aiming gradually at the achievement of a Co-operative Commonwealth. Every extension of the principle of public ownership, whether on a national scale or on a municipal scale, is preparing the way for a complete collectivism. The formation of every trust is laying the ground-work for a completely organized society, in which the trusts shall be owned by the people. The radical objection to this is not that they are too big, but that they are not big enough. We want a trust that is big enough to take us all in, and in which every man should be a stockholder.

This, then, shall be the nature of the economic framework of the society of the future: It will be a society in which all the means of production and distribution—the land, the factories, the machinery of life—will be owned and administered collectively by the people.

Much able brains than mine have scratched out for us the future society. Edward Bellamy and William Morris were both great social idealists, as shown in their utopias, "Looking Backward" and "News from Nowhere." I confess that I would much rather live in Morris' world than in Bellamy's, though others may differ with me on this point. Edward Bellamy is essentially a bourgeois type, and he is on the whole very well satisfied with the life of middle-class people as he sees it around him. Indeed, we may sum up his ideal in a very few words as simply the extension of present middle-class comfort and well-being to the whole nation. He sees nothing particularly wrong in modern cities if only the slums are removed. Luxury seems to him an excellent thing, if it all are enabled to have a share of it. In short, he believes "civilization," in its accepted sense, to be an unaltered blessing, as soon as poverty is eradicated. William Morris, on the other hand, declared that one of the strongest motives in his life was his hatred of present-day civilization. He is essentially an artist and a lover of nature. His whole being revolts against the artificiality of modern life.

And so his utopia is a glimpse of Arcadia. He describes with a poet's pen the dwelling houses of his ideal people and their stately buildings, and he emphasizes the spirit of craftsmanship that runs through all their industry. In Bellamy's romance, an elaborate system of rewards and grading is introduced in order to make people willing to work. Morris, on the other hand, makes us think of work as the natural and inevitable expression of the activity of every healthy man or woman. Art, he always said, was the expression of man's joy in his work. Morris would not admit that a normal man would wish to spend his life in idleness and lethargy. In his "News from Nowhere" the people are only fearful lest work should run out; and the man who is unwilling to work is regarded as a diseased person.

I believe that this philosophy of work, though it may seem utopian doctrine, is entirely correct. If we are to have a world we can be proud to live in, we must win back this motive. We must become co-workers with evolution. We must become artists, transfiguring the whole environment of man. We must become creators—gods in very truth—taking hold of the social fabric and shaping it to every just and noble end.

Thus we shall win the ideal society. Thus at last we shall enter the haven of our desire.

HAVING TO BE MADE.
We will speak out, we will be heard.
The old earth's systems crack;
We will not take a single word,
Nor take a letter back.

We speak the truth, and what care we
For hissing and for scorn.
While some faint gleamings we can see
Of freedom's coming, more?

Let friars fear, let cowards shrink,
Let traitors turn away;
Whatever we have dared to think
That dare we also say.
—James Russell Lowell.

POLITICAL NOTICES.

The attention of Social Democratic voters is called to the following notices of political conventions:
KINGS COUNTY.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County to nominate candidates for county officers in Kings County will be held at the ensuing election and to elect delegates to the Second Judicial District convention will be held on Saturday, August 22, 1903, at 7 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby avenue, Borough of Brooklyn, Kings County.

KINGS COUNTY ASSEMBLY DISTRICT CONVENTION.
The Assembly District convention to nominate candidates for members of Assembly in Kings County will be held on Saturday, Sept. 5, at 7 p. m., in all the Assembly Districts of Kings County.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH.
A borough convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Brooklyn, to nominate a candidate for President of the Borough, and to attend to such other matters as may come before it, will be held on Saturday, August 22, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby avenue, Borough of Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH ALDERMANIC CONVENTION.
The Aldermanic District convention to nominate candidates for Aldermen will be held on Saturday, Sept. 5, at 8 p. m., in all the Aldermanic Districts of the Borough of Brooklyn.

SECOND JUDICIAL DISTRICT.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party to nominate a candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court for the Second District of the State of New York will be held on Saturday, August 22, 1903, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 949-955 Willoughby avenue, Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York.

The basis of representation to the above convention is one delegate at large for each county and one additional delegate for every 50 members in good standing. Delegates must be elected at county conventions, composed of delegates elected at primaries in accordance with the General Election Law.

The Second Judicial District takes in the following counties: Kings, Queens, Richmond, Westchester, Nassau, Suffolk, Orange, Rockland, Dutchess, and Putnam.

Party organizations in the above counties will see that they are represented at the convention.

NEW YORK COUNTY.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of New York County to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 22, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Workingmen's Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

MANHATTAN BOROUGH.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of Manhattan, to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Saturday, Aug. 22, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Workingmen's Educational Association, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York.

BRONX BOROUGH.
A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Borough of the Bronx to nominate candidates for public offices to be voted for at the ensuing election, will be held on Friday, Aug. 28, at 8 p. m., in the clubhouse of the Bronx Workingmen's Educational Association, 3300 Third Avenue, Borough of the Bronx, City of New York.

NEW YORK COUNTY ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS.
The Assembly District conventions of the Social Democratic Party of New York County to nominate candidates for members of Assembly will be held on Saturday, Aug. 23, in all the assembly districts of New York County.

MANHATTAN AND BRONX ALDERMANIC DISTRICTS.
Aldermanic district conventions in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx will be held on Saturday, Aug. 23, in all Aldermanic districts but of the Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-seventh in the Borough of Manhattan and the Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third in the Borough of the Bronx, in which districts the conventions will be held on Friday, Sept. 4.

MUNICIPAL JUDICIAL DISTRICTS.
The Municipal Judicial District convention for the Twelfth and Thirteenth Municipal Court Districts will be held on Friday, Sept. 4.

BROWN'S ACCEPTANCE.

Letter of Our Candidate for Controller.
Social Democratic Workingman and Trade Unionist Points Out the Path of Emancipation to his Fellow-Workers—The Campaign Fund.

Morris Brown, Secretary of Cigar-makers' Union No. 144, who was nominated for Controller at the city convention of the Social Democratic Party of New York on July Fourth, has written the following letter of acceptance: Comrades of Greater New York:—With the same feeling with which the nomination for Controller is offered to me, I accept it.

The aim of the candidates of the Social Democratic Party is to bring about the entire emancipation of the working people from the yoke of our capitalist system, and forever make impossible the continuation of a system in which those who build the houses are compelled to lay in the streets homeless and those who bake the bread are compelled to go hungry.

There cannot under any circumstances be any compromise between the parties that represent capital and our present system of society, and the Social Democratic Party, the only party which truly represents the right and just demands of the working people: namely, the abolition of wage slavery, and in its place the common ownership of all tools of production and distribution. Those who still imagine that they can gain some reforms through the old political parties must be shown that the only thing that they can expect from them is some promise and here and there a law which is absolutely useless or can be used to advantage against the labor organizations, instead of in favor of them.

The action of our city officials on the united demands of organized labor last year in the matter of the Pennsylvania Tunnel—that only organized labor be employed, and that all disputes be placed in the hands of an arbitration committee—showed what we can expect from them, for they voted to give the franchise to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company without giving any consideration to the working people, although their demands were very modest.

Again, let me call the attention of the workers to the fact that only yesterday when a strike took place on the Long Island Rapid Transit system for the re-instatement of a few men, the police department was very quick in sending a platoon of police to drive away any of the strikers who might dare to approach men who were ready to take their places and persuade them, in a peaceful manner, not to work for that company. We have found the action of our officials in all strikes that have taken place, showing to the working people the absolute necessity of taking control of all branches of our political institutions, and using them to the advantage of those who produce the wealth, instead of permitting it to be used in favor of those who desire to perpetuate the robbery system we are now living under.

I cannot understand how men telling daily for an existence can continue to vote for candidates of the old political parties when it can so easily be shown that they are the mere tools of the Bear, Morgan, Rockefeller, class, and that these men exercise the power to dictate the policy of such party as may be in power; and that such policy certainly cannot be in the interest of the working people, even the most conservative of our union men will have to admit.

Let us therefore make every effort within our power to swell the vote of the Social Democratic Party to such an extent as to inspire the working class on to early and complete victory. Fraternally yours,
MORRIS BROWN.

The Campaign Fund.
Fellow Workmen of the City of New York:—Once more the Social Democratic Party enters the field in a municipal campaign, unconsciously advocating the interests of the working class. We call upon you to look back over the history of the present "Reform" administration and to recognize that it has done no more for our class than did the Tammany administration that preceded it. Wherever the interests of Capital and Labor are in conflict the "Reformers" alike consistently serve the interests of Capital. The organization of the capitalists in Trusts and Combinations, in Landlord's Associations and Merchants' Associations and Employers' Associations has gone steadily on, with the consent or approval of old-party leaders. Your organizations, on the contrary, are constantly hampered and persecuted through the unrestrained lawlessness of the ex-ploiters and the perversion of the law itself to their service. Here, as in every other part of the world, the wage-workers stand face to face with a combination of the most powerful interests for our enslavement, and only by prompt and united political action can our liberty be established.

The Social Democratic Party carries on a great campaign of education to unite the working class at the polls. It needs of Capital. The organization of the capitalists in Trusts and Combinations, in Landlord's Associations and Merchants' Associations and Employers' Associations has gone steadily on, with the consent or approval of old-party leaders. Your organizations, on the contrary, are constantly hampered and persecuted through the unrestrained lawlessness of the ex-ploiters and the perversion of the law itself to their service. Here, as in every other part of the world, the wage-workers stand face to face with a combination of the most powerful interests for our enslavement, and only by prompt and united political action can our liberty be established.

The advantage is decidedly with Labor in the fight so far, and it seems that if the masses of a court is worth anything we ought to be permitted to go on with our agitation unmolested.
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OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK.

Open air agitation meetings will be held in Greater New York under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party or auxiliary organizations as follows:

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20.
N. W. corner Twenty-seventh street and Tenth Avenue, 9th A. D. Speakers: Nelsen.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21.
Houston and Ridge streets, 10th A. D. Speakers: Adler, Korn, Weinstein, and Wallach.

MONDAY, AUGUST 24.
Stanton and Willet streets, 16th A. D. Speakers: Bernstein, Adler, Korn, Harris, and Adelstein.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 25.
N. W. corner Clarkson and Hudson streets, 2d A. D. Speakers: Paulitich and Finger.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26.
N. W. corner Thirty-fifth street and Eighth Avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Pankin and Cole.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27.
N. W. corner Twenty-seventh street and Tenth Avenue, 9th A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Cassidy.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 28.
R. W. corner Fifth street and Tenth Avenue, 15th A. D. Speakers: Sackin and Dobszage.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29.
Central Avenue and Stanhope street. Speakers: Feiser, Droste, and Dooley. Lafayette Avenue and Broadway. Speakers: Kearns and others.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 30.
Twenty-third street and Fourth Avenue. Speakers: Weil and Lieber.

MONDAY, AUGUST 31.
Hamburg Avenue and Nimitz street. Speakers: Feiser, Droste, and Weil.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 1.
Irving Avenue and Harmon street. Speakers: Weil, Feiser, and Droste.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2.
Albany Avenue and Fulton street. Speakers: Lackenacher and others.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 3.
Bath Avenue and Bay Eighteenth street. Speakers: Feiser, Weil, and Dawson.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 4.
Dykeman and Van Brunt streets. Speakers: Droste and Dooley.

MAN'S LAST STRUGGLE WITH MAN.

[The following is a leaflet by William B. Fox of Cincinnati, issued by the Socialists of that city.]
Over all the civilized world the last struggle of man with man is now being waged in political arenas.

In earlier times there were clashes of tribes; race fought with race; and, as the nations grew, they had wars for religious freedom and wars for political freedom. Now all those race wrangles and national strifes have given place to a world-wide struggle between classes.

Capitalist and wage-slave stand face to face.

"My product!" cries the wage-slave. "My profit!" roars the capitalist.

And the contest is now for the creation of labor and class government, as it was once for dogma and power, and race and national supremacy.

The spear of the savage, the sword of the barbarian, the firearm of the later man—are well discarded. This battle is with ballots.

On one side is the Socialist Party, on the other is the Capitalist Party.

In this struggle the working class will win. Industrial freedom will be gained. Classes will disappear. All will become workers. Finally the human family will be blessed with lasting peace.

The end is coming fast. The lines of the old antagonisms are gone; those of the new clearly marked.

Capitalists know no race or country. They grasp hands across oceans. They internecine. They are become one race, one nation, one powerful class, whose ruling passion is to confiscate the creations of labor. All existing governments are subject to them. They violate all commandments, even their own laws, and they mock at all religions; yet they endeavor to use all religions to awe the minds of their victims, and make them believe that submission to tyranny is obedience to God.

There is solidarity among capitalists. There must be solidarity among workers.

The workers must become one race, one nation, one loyal, united class, that will submerge all others and make the workers the rulers of the world.

For the working class must become the dominant class, because it is the producing class, the constructive class, the progressive class, the only indispensable class, supporting, sheltering and uplifting all; and in the evolution of mankind, its immediate mission is to unify the human family.

Political parties are armies. Ballots are weapons. Election day is the day of conflict. The Workman who votes the Capitalist ticket goes over to the enemy. He surrenders into slavery. He is false to himself, disloyal to his family, and a traitor to his class. And he who betrays the working class betrays his country and betrays the world.

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The Worker.

IN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
(Known in New York State as the Social
Democratic Party.)

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Receipts are sent only to individual subscribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper, the week following receipt of money.
All communications should be written with ink and on one side of the paper. Receipts should be abbreviated; every letter should bear the writer's name and address and must not be put in as few words as possible, consistently with clearness. Communications which do not comply with these requirements are likely to be disregarded.

Communications about the business or editorial management of the paper should be addressed to the Board of Directors, Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 104 William Street, New York.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6, 1901.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

FUN MASTER OF NEW YORK—

DR. CHARLES L. FURMAN

FOR CONTROLLER—

MORRIS BROWN,

Member of City Board of Aldermen.

FOR PRESIDENT OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN—

PETER J. FLAHERTY,

Member of Typographical Union No. 6.

In the State of New York, on account of certain provisions of the election laws, the Socialist Party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party, and its members in the Arm and Torch, as shown above.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic Party in New York should not be confused with the so-called Socialist Labor Party. The latter is a party which has been organized, directed all its energies to two purposes: First, to disrupt the Socialist movement and second, to bring about a general strike in the battle against capitalism; second, to malign and injure the Socialist movement.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.
The Socialist Party for Social Democratic Party in New York has passed through its second general election. Its growing power is indicated by its speedy victory, as evidenced by the great increase of its vote in the following figures:
1900 (Presidential) 97,780
1902 (State and Congressional) 229,792

SOME ERRORS WHICH SOCIALISTS SHOULD AVOID.

The lack of study and thought displayed by a number of comrades who have written to The Worker (as well as by some who have dealt with the same matter in the press) upon the question of labor's real share in the division of product between wage-workers and capitalists, calls to mind the unpleasant fact that this point is only one of several in regard to which errors and inaccuracies of statement by many active Socialist about the teachings of their own movement are surprising, not only in their frequency, but often as to the sources from which they emanate.

Carelessness of statement by speakers, and especially by the Socialist press, must confuse and hamper our work of education; it can only result in intellectual demoralization when the all-informed Socialist faces a more exactly thinking opponent in argument; and, if it becomes widespread, is sure to work some measure of discredit to our movement.

In regard to the particular question involving the method of analyzing economic statistics by which labor's real share in its product in any given industry can be discovered, a little thought ought to convince anyone that in calculating the profit of the capitalist the expense of raw materials, for one item, must be deducted, for the reason that the product of one industry becomes the raw material of another. But, say some, the raw material, though it is not the product of the workers in the particular industry we happen to be considering, is the product of some other workers and therefore it must not be deducted from the profit of the capitalist class because it is the product of labor! Surely it ought to be obvious to those who speak so unhesitatingly with such quick assurance, that in this method of figuring the exploitation of each body of workers is counted twice. The

raw material used in any industry embodies the exploitation of the workers in some other industry and not to deduct it in calculating the profit of the capitalists in whatever industry may be under consideration is to count it double—a very simple fact which must always be remembered in dealing with the total statistics of wages and products. If this is not clear enough, the obvious fact that economic crises would occur continually; instead of once in a decade, if wage-workers received only 17 per cent. of the value which they produced, ought to convince those who state that the capitalists get 83 per cent. of the product of labor, that there is something the matter with their reasoning; for if the capitalists got 83 per cent. and the consuming power of the workers was restricted to 17 per cent., it would be impossible for the capitalists to dispose of the surplus products that a crisis from "over-production" would always be on hand. The question of where the enormous wealth of the capitalists comes from if they get only one-half or two-thirds of the product of labor, of course finds its answer in the fact that many workers, that one capitalist exploits thousands of workers.

It has well been said that: "There are three kinds of lies: Lies, damned lies, and statistics." The statement of total figures without proper explanation are exceedingly deceptive, and he would explain them must go carefully too, for their investigation is beset with snags and pitfalls. "Figures never lie, but figures" well, they make mistakes, and this is something that Socialists ought not to do, especially if they happen to be writing or speaking for the instruction of others.

But the other common misstatements to which we are about to call attention are not in the statistical field; they are therefore entirely due to neglect of study and thought and this is something which, in a Socialist who claims to be in earnest, is very near to inexcusable. We do not refer to errors which arise from the opportunist position in Socialist thought. Errors of all kinds thrive rankly in the jungles of opportunism, but we have reference only to those which come, owing to lack of reading, from the lips and pens of those who consider themselves Socialists of the strictest type.

To begin with, one often meets statements like this: "Between capital and labor, there never was and never can be any conflict, for capital is the product of labor. The conflict is between capitalists and laborers." This is one of those slipshod statements which is particularly exasperating because it contains a half-truth. In the first place, considered merely from the standpoint of the language, "capital" and "labor" are correctly used as collective nouns meaning the same as capitalist class and working class. Moreover, this very common statement ignores the Socialist definition of capital and accepts the bourgeois definition that capital is simply synonymous with means of production. Socialist thought draws a distinction between mere means of production, which may be tools owned and used by the same individual, and means of production in the form of capital, which is owned by one man and operated by others for wages, thus having the power of increasing itself in the owner's hands. According to Socialist theory capital is not merely means of production, it is rather, in the last analysis, "a relation between individuals established by means of the material tools of production." Capital itself, therefore, according to our own Socialist definition of it, is antagonistic to the interests of the wealth producers, and implies the existence of the capitalist system. The Socialist definition of capital is important and essential to Socialist thought; it is one of the first things that must be made clear in debating, for instance, with a Single Taxer; and it is lamentable to see any Socialist who attempts, even in a small way, to teach others about ignorance of it.

Another mistaken phrase which still bobs up occasionally in Socialist pamphlets and papers is "the iron law of wages," that wages must go down through competition for jobs to the bare cost of existence and reproduction. This phrase, in the early history of the German movement, was one of the chief bones of contention between the followers of La Saille, who originated it, and the Eisenachers or followers of Marx, who repudiated it. The law of wages referred to by this phrase is, of course, one of the conceptions of truth upon which the Socialist must base his contention, but it is not an "iron law"; for it can be overcome, to some extent, by the organized trade union resistance of the workers, and it is even more often voluntarily annulled by capitalists who realize that a well-paid worker will produce more than an ill-treated one. With Marx this law was the expression of the inevitable tendency of wages, not the statement of an absolute fact without qualifying exceptions. The mistake of stating the theoretical tendencies of the capitalist system, as it would operate if it were an economic machine with the factor of human intelligence left out, as absolute facts is often met with in the discussion of other phases of Socialist economics.

Another common misstatement is the statement that capitalists are class-conscious, simply because they show the class instinct of associated action as does indeed the pure and simple trade unionist whom the Socialist would not recognize as class-conscious. Those who indulge this fallacy are well taken to task in the current issue of St. Louis "Labor," in the following editorial remarks:

"The capitalists are class-conscious; if the wage-workers were as class-conscious as their masters things would soon look better in our movement." These and similar arguments are often used by Socialist speakers and writers. Such arguments are misleading because they are false and unconvincing. The capitalists are not class-conscious, because they do not understand the historical basis and economic, political and social development of their own class or of society at large. The fact that the capitalist will always look out for his pocketbook does not make him class-conscious. He is conscious that the labor of others is a source of profit for himself. The plain figures, black on white, on the pages of his business books will dictate to the capitalist the proper attitude to take in his dealings with the wage-workers employed by him. In a rude, materialistic way he will figure out the rate of profit or rate of interest on capital invested, to be extracted from his hands. Class-consciousness has absolutely nothing to do with this process of exploitation."

But the most evil and misleading of all wrong statements that can be uttered by a Socialist in fancied support of his own philosophy is that all men follow their own material interests, leaving it to be inferred that the immediate material interests of the individual himself are meant. We have had in type for some time, and may yet publish, an article dealing with this all too common fallacy. In the meantime, Comrade Simons in the course of an editorial upon another subject in the current number of the "International Socialist Review" states briefly and clearly the real Socialist position upon this point:

"Another assertion is that every body follows their immediate interests. [This is] certainly a ridiculous statement, and at complete variance with the Socialist philosophy and particularly with the Marxist wing of Socialism and the doctrine of the class struggle. It is just because Socialists see that men can be made to sink their immediate personal and individual interests in their class interests that they are so anxious to see the workers as a class free from the influence of the individual. The momentary individual interest of the wage-worker is the prosperity of his employer and the increase of the rate of production, since only under such conditions is there a possibility, though to be sure by no means a certainty, of better wages. This is the grain of truth in the 'theory of interest' argument so glibly repeated by the labor fakir. But the interest of the wage-worker as a class lies in the abolition of the employing class and with it the entire wage system. Hence it is that we ask the individual to forego his immediate interest as an individual, which might probably be better furthered by favoring on his employer, working overtime, and, in general, merging himself in the interests of his master, and instead to throw himself, with his class, into an effort to better the condition of all and ultimately abolish wage-slavery."

Bound up with and arising from this idea that the Socialist theory of economic determinism teaches the predominance of the immediate interests of the individual, is the atrocious statement that Socialism has nothing to do with ethics or ideals, that ethics is a thing of the future, and that any attempt to connect Socialism with ethics is sentimentalism. The fact that most attempts to teach the ethics of Socialism have so far been sentimentalisms based on ideas of abstract justice, "natural rights," and abstract conceptions of a future society, furnish some excuse, however, for this latter statement. But the Socialist movement gives to the world a new class ethic, a new morality, the religion of class-consciousness, leading through the class struggle to social solidarity. If ideals and ethics are based on abstractions they are sentimental futilities but if they are based on class interests they are one of the greatest motive-powers of social evolution and human progress; and in consciously giving to the world a class ideal and ethic, Socialist philosophy reveals the scientific basis of morals and source of ideals.

COURTENAY LEMON.

CAPITALIST ADMINISTRATION.

Alderman Vorley: "Here's a fine-looking street."

Councillor Flint: "You're right there. What's best to be done to it?"

"I'd have it dug up for a sewer."

"But wouldn't it be proper to pave it first?"

"Of course, I suppose you intend to do that. Then, after it is paved and a sewer put in, we'll have it re-laid."

"All in readiness to be dug up again for a gas pipe? I see you understand the principles of municipal economy. And after we have it repaved a second time, then what?"

"Well, then it will be in order for widening. There's nothing I admire so much as system in the care and improvement of our roadways."—Leicester Times.

Socialist and Social Democratic are virtually interchangeable terms.

The Social Democratic Party of New York and Wisconsin is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. It is the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

Another common misstatement is the

SOCIALISM IN MUNICIPALITIES.

By A. M. Simons.

The municipality is but a local organization within a greater capitalist government; its activity is hedged in at every point by this environment. Hence it is that any action that may be taken within the municipality will not be Socialism. Socialism, like capitalism, is a social stage. To the utopian, therefore, there is no field for Socialist action within the municipality. But in the other and much more important meaning of the word, Socialism is a philosophy based upon a class struggle. In this sense, Socialism has much to say with regard to municipal action.

How then can the Socialist Party best use its strength in the class struggle on the municipal field? There are two subjects which are most frequently discussed in this connection. The average bourgeois reformer lays all the emphasis on municipal ownership of a few industries. A great many Socialists, on the other hand, talk as if the only thing Socialism could do is to call off the police in time of strike. The fact is that, while the use of the police in labor troubles is of vital interest to the laboring class, the average workman is not engaged in a strike where the police will be used more than a few times in a lifetime. In the same way, the man who burns kerosene, walks to his work, and never has any need for a telephone except in transacting his master's business, is not so tremendously interested in municipal ownership of these industries. There are other fields which are much less spectacular, but in which much effective work can be done.

Before proceeding to any details, I wish to say that, in my opinion, the one thing that is of such paramount importance that nothing else should be allowed in any way to compete with it is the capture of the municipal government by a class-conscious Socialist Party. For this reason the Socialist can never afford to engage in any movement for municipal reform which would weaken the strength of an independent class organization on the political field. The attainment of municipal ownership or, indeed, of any of the things which I shall hereafter mention, and most of which I consider more important than municipal ownership, of any of the industries, about which so much fuss is easily made, is of infinitely less importance than the increasing of the number of class-conscious voters.

Once, however, that men have been placed in City Councils by Socialist ballots, the question of what they shall do becomes of very great importance, and here it is that we have need of a working program.

It seems to me that among the things which should rank first in importance to the workingmen are provisions affecting health and education. A physically strong and intellectually trained proletariat will not become slaves.

No Socialist, of course, is blind to the fact that education is only a superstructure on the economic foundation, and that while that foundation remains capitalist no real revolutionary changes can be made in education. It is equally true, however, as was noted above, that the municipality itself must operate within capitalism and that the Socialist alone can do nothing in the municipality alone that will overthrow the superstructure. While capitalism, however, while the class struggle lasts, much can be done to strengthen the fighting ability of the proletariat.

Our present school system is distinctly organized and directed toward the perpetuation of capitalism. Its methods of teaching, its discipline, its whole make-up, rest upon the assumed justice and even sacredness of the present system of exploitation. Much of this at least could be changed by Socialists in municipal government.

Here, as at many other points, indeed, I might almost say, as to all other points, the Socialist must be guided by the thought of the best method working in this field, even if non-Socialist, is in direct accord with the Socialist position.

Another field in which much can be done is that of improved housing for the laboring class. Nothing is of more importance than life, and the sanitary conditions imposed by capitalism are literally murdering tens and hundreds of thousands of the working class each year. Sanitary laws, even more than other legislation, are almost invariably enforced in strict accord with class interest.

Whereas the rest of the landlord class comes into conflict with working-class life the former is favored. In this field the efforts of a single Socialist officer could be made to produce most remarkable results. This is especially true because he will not need in most cases to initiate new legislation. In Chicago, for example, the whole slum district would need to be leveled to the ground and rebuilt if existing sanitary legislation—which has been enacted for the protection of the capitalist class, was enforced throughout the working-class district.

The city hospitals are filled almost exclusively with working-class patients. These institutions are generally, and with good cause, looked upon with horror and treated as places of torture and experiment, both of mismanagement. It is the laboring class more than any other which is subjected to sickness and accident under capitalism. Moreover, a working-class home-to-day can never afford adequate accommodations for the care of the sick and injured. Indeed, the working-class home is today even the essential which modern surgery demands. Every day makes this fact more evident, as more and more costly appliances and arrangements are needed. The city hospitals should be made an ideal place for the care of the sick and injured. It should be a place in whose management the utmost confidence could be placed and to which the

ties could be taken with every assurance of the best care. The existence of such institutions would mean infinitely more to the working class of any city than "municipal ownership" of all the "natural monopolies" ever advocated by tax-saving, small-capitalist reformers. In this field also a single Socialist official can accomplish much because of the tremendous force of publicity in such matters. Many of the abuses of to-day depend upon the secrecy which what may almost be called a "conspiracy of silence" makes possible.

When it comes to the management of municipally owned institutions, the discussion by Socialists is already full, and for that reason I will not discuss it here. I might say, however, that one demand which is often overlooked is of much more importance than many which are ordinarily emphasized. The right of the employees in municipally owned industries to organize is of more importance than any definition of regulation as to hours, wages or conditions of employment, although, of course, these should by no means be overlooked. But with the right to organize secured for the workers in any industry, they have a weapon in their hands with which to obtain continuously better conditions and to defend themselves against aggression. At the same time their conditions will depend definitely upon their own resources and not upon apparent legal discrimination. This latter point is of special importance to Socialists who wish to cultivate in every possible way the spirit of intelligent class rebellion.

The Socialist officer in the municipality should, of course, insist on absolute non-interference by the police in time of strikes. He is justified, even under capitalism, in saying to the employer that if he cannot run his business without precipitating a riot then that business must stand still. Under these conditions the employer is very likely to come to terms and grant as advantageous conditions to his men as possible. Yet I think there has been a tendency on the part of Socialist speakers to exaggerate what could be done on the point under capitalism. While private property remains, law and the police are essentially for its protection. They have been organized for that purpose, and it is difficult to use them for any other purpose.

In the field of possible municipal activity one thing which has been overlooked is the possibility of municipal bakeries. These have been run in Italy, particularly in Naples, with most remarkable results. To be sure, all of these measures which tend to reduce the cost of living ultimately redound to the benefit of the capitalist, the other hand, the average wage-laborer can hold much of what is gained.

The schoolhouses should be thrown open for popular discussion. If this is done, particularly if they are allowed to become meeting places for public bodies, including trade unions, with free discussion, I know of few things that would offer more encouragement for the growth of Socialist sentiment.

There are just a few suggestions of methods by which the proletarian side of the class struggle can be waged by Socialists who may chance to hold office in municipalities.

In the next article I shall endeavor to outline a plan by which these suggestions and the many other of practical value which may occur to the reader or other comrades can be put into effect at the present time.

CLARENCE S. DARROW AND THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, said something in favor of Socialism, and now some of our Socialist editors seem to feel like kicking the gentleman's big toe, for his gratuitous favorable remarks. Mr. Darrow said: "I feel that Socialism is the coming movement; whether it is ripe for political action I am not fully satisfied, but expect to have something to say upon it soon." Why, other Democratic and Republican politicians have said similar things about Socialism. Years ago Mr. Darrow said about the same things. Being one of those "aggressive, broad-minded men," Mr. Darrow may possibly wait until the coming movement of Socialism will have built up a powerful Socialist Party, movement—then he "may say something" and join the Socialist ranks. However, we have not very much use for that class of men. At any rate, we do not feel justified in putting such men above those brave wage-workers that have been, and still are, doing the hard, Socialist-glacier work. We respect and esteem the wage-workers who do not wait until the coming movement of Socialism will have built up a powerful Socialist Party, movement—then he "may say something" and join the Socialist ranks. However, we have not very much use for that class of men. At any rate, we do not feel justified in putting such men above those brave wage-workers that have been, and still are, doing the hard, Socialist-glacier work. We respect and esteem the wage-workers who do not wait until the coming movement of Socialism will have built up a powerful Socialist Party, movement—then he "may say something" and join the Socialist ranks. However, we have not very much use for that class of men. At any rate, we do not feel justified in putting such men above those brave wage-workers that have been, and still are, doing the hard, Socialist-glacier work. 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National.

Under date of Aug. 8, Comrade M. W. Wilkins reports upon his work in Washington as follows: "July 23, 24 and 25, three successful street meetings in Tacoma; July 26, 27, and 28, one-half meeting and three large street meetings in Everett, with uncommonly little attention. Comrades report street meetings largest in Everett. Received Clippings July 20, with record of five hall meetings, ending Aug. 2. Comrades have counted meetings very successful. Afternoon of Aug. 2 spoke to about twenty-five farmers at Schneider's Prairie School House. Close interest manifested. Aug. 3 at Townsend, small village, but good attendance. Aug. 4 and 5 at Little Rock, a lively crowd and good success. Aug. 6, 7 and 8, good crowd first night and eager attention, but the houses too action and scored nearly all the workers away the second night. Many of the men talked favorably to me, on the

The comrades of Albany reorganised the local which since last January was in a state of "innocuous desuetude."

general way and each borough handle its own campaign, that therefore one paid officer of this body is suf-

At the meeting of the Essex County Committee on Aug. 12, owing to change

who is the speaker at Connellsville on Labor Day, has offered his services to

time to the Iowa campaign, from Sept. 1 to 6. An effort is being made to se-

FIREWORKS AND GAMES

The forcible expropriation advocated from no compromise, so pointed
by the followers of Baboenf, the so-called "Trading."

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The Worker.

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DO WE NEED THE CAPITALIST?

All social questions are included in these two questions: First, Do we need capitalists? Second, If not, how can we get rid of the capitalist class? The solution of all social problems is found when these questions are rightly answered. The STRUGGLE of the WORKING CLASS AGAINST the OWNERSHIP of the means of production is reducible to these two propositions.

The capitalist is he who owns factories, land, mills, mines, railroads—any of the means of producing or distributing wealth. He is enriched by rent, profit and interest.

To justify the capitalist's private ownership of the means of production and his accruing profits, the professors of economics (the science which deals with the production and distribution of wealth in the colleges) endowed by capitalists speak of profit in certain technical terms, which imply that the capitalist performs some service necessary to society which entitles him to his profit. The professors of economics say that profit, in all its various forms, is "wages of superintendence," "wages of abstinence," and "wages of risk or insurance." By "wages of superintendence" they mean that the capitalist superintends industry and manages production and that his profit is "wages" for his service. By "wages of abstinence" they mean that the capitalist has saved up the means of further production by self-denial and that his profit is "wages" for this service. By "wages of insurance or risk" they mean that the capitalist risks the capital which he has accumulated when he invests it in an industrial undertaking and that his profit is "wages" for taking this risk.

At one time, far back in the early days of competitive capitalism before machinery and the organization of industry had reached its present stage, the capitalists did superintend industry and did take a considerable risk of losing what they had saved when they entered into competition. In those days the capitalist had a function to perform. Now that those days are gone forever, the professors, the editors and the politicians whom the capitalists feed still parrot these outworn phrases as an apology for and justification of the increasingly enormous profits of the increasingly useless capitalist class—profits far greater than the reward of genius in any branch of science, art, or literature. Be not awed by the phrases of the learned. Know that THERE IS NO FOOL LIKE A LEARNED FOOL.

Although the function of the capitalist is said to be the direction or superintendence of industry, everyone knows that many capitalists do not work at all and have nothing to do with the direction of the industries from which they draw profits.

The typical capitalist is the stockholder in a corporation.

The New York stockholder may own stocks in a mine in Montana WHICH HE HAS NEVER SEEN, he may never have visited the city in which the corporation that he holds stock in has its offices, never have attended a meeting of the stockholders or directors, and yet he continues to draw enormous profits from the labor of Montana miners—for superintending industry!

The stockholder may spend his time cruising the Mediterranean on his yacht, gambling at Monte Carlo, winning and dining at Newport, betting on the races at Saratoga, and yet continue to draw enormous profits from the labor performed in factories and mills which he has never seen—for superintending industry!

The stockholder's mind may be habitually befuddled with drink, drugs, and dissipation, yet he continues to draw enormous profits for superintending industry!

The stockholder, as the ward of an estate, may be an INFANT in the cradle, yet, having the power of exploiting labor by inherited ownership, draws enormous profits for superintending industry!

The stockholder may become INEBRIATE and be confined in an asylum, yet because of the ownership of stocks and bonds in his name, he will draw enormous profits for superintending industry!

The stockholder may be DEAD, yet while the estate of the dead stockholder is being settled up, dividends continue to be declared upon the stock which he owned and a dead man draws enormous profits—for superintending industry!

So, if we accept the theory that the capitalist is entitled to profit as a reward for superintending industry, we are compelled to accept the conclusion that our industrial affairs are often directed by idlers, aliens, debauchees, babies, lunatics, and dead men.

Everyone knows, however, that many other capitalists, and these the greatest, do actually perform a great deal of mental work, that they work very hard seven hours a day during a large part of the year. But, do these capitalists really superintend and direct the production of wealth; do they render a service to society? On the contrary.

The work of these active capitalists is an "industry of acquisition;" they devote themselves to drawing into their own private pockets the wealth which others produce; all their great energy and mental ability is exercised in such a way and for such purposes as to be not only useless but absolutely harmful to society, to the great mass of the people. The work of these "captains of industry" is to find the way to get the most product out of labor in return for the least wages, to reduce wages and raise prices, to intensify exploitation, to manipulate stocks and "corner" the market, to crush labor unions, to corrupt legislatures and courts, to adulterate the product and to cut down expense at the risk of life, to crush out rivals and kill competitors by skillful advertising, by legal squabbles, by ANY possible means, to maintain at all costs their own position of power and increase their own wealth. All this may be very strenuous work, it may be a very nerve-straining effort, but it PRODUCES nothing, it adds nothing to the amount of wealth or human happiness in the world, it is absolutely useless to anyone except the capitalists themselves, and absolutely harmful to everyone else.

The safe-breaking thief must exercise skilled labor and technical knowledge, and the competent "bumo man" must do a great deal of brain work and take a great deal of risk; yet we do not think that the burglar is entitled to the contents of the safe or that the "confidence man" has a right to the money that his wiles bring in. No more is the capitalist entitled to the profit which his ownership and his scheming bring him. The only difference is that the capitalist owns the government and legalizes his operations.

The "captains of industry" who draw the greatest profits do not direct the real technical work of production, do not superintend the different departments of the industries which they own. Many great capitalists are "directors" of OVER A SCORE of different corporations engaged in widely differing industries. It is impossible for one man to have the technical knowledge that is necessary to the superintendence of so many different lines of activity; and if one man could have a technical knowledge of twenty or thirty different businesses, it would be absolutely impossible for him to superintend them all at once. It is obvious that the real work of superintendence is turned over to hired foremen and superintendents. And if any of the larger capitalists do perform any work of superintendence they do it as paid officers or directors of the corporation, receiving a SALARY, which, though it is always an enormously excessive compensation, is as nothing compared to their profits as OWNERS. The capitalist piles up immense wealth not because he superintends industry, but because he OWNS the means of production which labor has created and must work with and is thus enabled, through the competitive wage system, to rob labor of the larger share of its product.

The ownership of corporation stocks is constantly changing every day and every hour as stocks are bought and sold on the stock exchange, but this does not interfere with the progress or superintendence of industry for the very simple reason that the owners do NOT superintend industry. Just as the ownership of a corporation passes from one capitalist to another without interrupting production, so the ownership could be transferred to the whole people without interfering with the peaceful progress of the industry. Similarly, when a capitalist dies, who is said to be the very life of a great industry, the industry goes right along as if he had never been. The organization of the Beef Trust, for instance, has been perfected SINCE the death of Armour, who was thought to be the NECESSARY man in that line.

If we should accept the statement that the capitalist class manages the industrial affairs of society, then we would be compelled to accept the conclusion that they have been very incompetent and evil managers and that we could not do worse, for their reign has resulted only in poverty, waste, crime, "over-production," and every form of want and misery.

And it must always be remembered that the problem of superintendence under a system of collective ownership of the means of production would be immeasurably simplified and become almost a mere matter of statistics and information. For the most intricate problems of management all arise from the present chaotic system of private ownership of the means of life. As the Irishman said of England's management of the affairs of the Emerald Isle, so it may be said of capitalism: "Hell itself could not be successfully conducted upon such a system."

The apology for capitalist profit expressed in the terms "wages of abstinence" and "wages of risk or insurance" is less frequently used nowadays because the wanton waste and luxury of the established and hereditary capitalist class has made all talk of the "reward of abstinence" a subject for merriment; and the loud-talking game of the monopolist who cannot lose has made "risk" a farce.

In the early times when it was possible to become a capitalist by saving and when competition made risk real, the chief factor in "success" other things being equal, was LUCK. Now that it is impossible to save enough to compete with the established great capitalists who run no risk, the great factor in "success" in any new line is previous ownership of CAPITAL inheritance of wealth.

The capitalist whose profit is called "wages of risk" by his parrot professors risks nothing but the DOLLARS he has stolen from others, while the workers every day in a thousand different dangerous occupations risk their very LIVES at their work. Where, then, is the workers' reward of abstinence?

The capitalist whose profit is called "reward of abstinence" by his echoing economists wastes the wealth of the world in abandoned LUXURY and in gaudy display, while those who produce the wealth of the world are restricted to BARE NECESSITIES. Where, then, is the workers' reward of abstinence?

And if either risk in industry or abstinence for the purpose of renewing the means of production is now necessary, for anyone, neither would be necessary under the Socialist system of common ownership which will eliminate the waste and insecurity of competitive capitalism and give abundance and security to all who are willing to do their share of the world's work.

We do not need the capitalist. The capitalist class no longer have any function, and just as in the evolution of physical organisms those organs which have lost their function disappear, so the capitalist class must disappear in the evolution of the social organism.

But our work and our will is one of the chief factors in that social evolution and the capitalist will not disappear until we dispossess him. The Socialist movement is here to answer the question how to get rid of the capitalist. It calls upon the workers to unite in a political party of their own class in order to capture the powers of government and do away with the useless capitalist class by making common property under public ownership of that which is now capital under private ownership and thus put the control of industrial affairs into the hands of the workers themselves.

COURTENAY LEMON.

THE "SPENT" MAN.

"Spent man" There is aching pathos in that phrase. How did such a creature ever manage to wander so far from arid intellect and come so near to damp emotion?

"Spent man" is the classification they employ at the municipal lodging house for the man whose vital spark has sunk so low that there is little hope of its ever being revived. This does not mean that the man will die. He may live many years. But he will live as the ship lives that, with no coal and no steam, drifts to meet its last hour.

What makes "spent men?" The chief assigned cause, says Mr. Robbins, superintendent of the municipal lodging house, "is child labor." Read two of the entries in the lodging house record: "Twenty-one years old. Begon work when thirteen for the Queens City Cotton Company, worked steadily for five years. Seemed discouraged; low vitality; worked as common laborer two days. Gave up. Passed on." "Twenty-two years old. Pennsylvania. Began work at age: dog in glass works; steady four years; gave out; restaurant work three years; been tramping since; power gone; passed on."

THE NEW YORK GAS COMBINE.

Most Eminent "Reformers" of To-day Were Participants and Beneficiaries of Corrupt Consolidated Gas Deal of 1885—Facts Worth Remembering at the Ballot-Box.

By Henry L. Slobodin.

About thirty years after Murdoch first discovered the use of lighting gas, a company was chartered in New York to provide the city with gas. The New York Gas Company was organized in 1825 and was granted an EXCLUSIVE privilege for thirty years. The price of gas was \$10 for 1,000 feet and the city paid \$15 for each lamp. The Manhattan Gas Light Company was organized in 1838; the Metropolitan and Harlem Gas Light companies in 1838. The Anthracite Gas Light Company was given a fifty-year franchise in 1863 and the franchise of the New York Gas Company was also extended for fifty years. The city received no compensation whatever for any of the above franchises. It was the practice of politicians then, as it is now, to organize companies ostensibly for the manufacture of gas and vote franchises to these companies. The franchises were then sold for still prices to the existing companies or to any new company that was looking for a franchise. The Anthracite Gas Light Company held the franchise eight years without manufacturing gas and in 1871 it sold out to the Union Gas Light Company. The Mutual and Knickerbocker were organized in 1860. The Knickerbocker bought out the Union and paid its president a "salary" of \$500,000. The Mutual was organized on condition that it share among its consumers any profit above ten per cent. To evade this condition, it issued to its stockholders bonds for \$1,500,000. The Equitable was organized in 1862. In 1884 the consolidation of the New York, Manhattan, Harlem, Metropolitan, Mutual, and Knickerbocker gas companies was surreptitiously effected by the legislature under the name of Consolidated Gas Company. The Municipal, which in 1880 purchased the stock of the Knickerbocker for \$500,000, turned it into the consolidation scheme for \$3,000,000.

The Consolidation Deal.

The politicians, reformers and newspaper men, who were left put in the division of the spoils began in 1885 a campaign for the repeal of the consolidation law. With the repeal of the consolidation law, the price of gas and the profits were introduced at Albany. The Consolidated opened in Albany one of the most gigantic lobbies in the history of the New York Legislature.

The New York "Times" of February 7, 1885, observes: "There is reason to believe that the companies have 'consolidated' for the purpose, first, of watering their stock so that they may cancel the amount of their profits and, secondly, of depriving the consumers of the benefits of competition."

The New York "Tribune" of February 27, 1885, denounced the conspirators in an article under the headline: "Vulgar Boasting of Bribery's Power." The "Evening Post" was no less vehement in its denunciation of the Consolidated, pointing out that its masters ran usually 35 per cent. too fast.

The New York "World" of April 24, 1885, reads an article on the situation with the words: "Huddle for the Lobbyists. Plenty of It Received at Albany to Kill the Gas and Other Popular Bills."

The "Morning Journal" of April 25, 1885, announces: "Danger of Defeat. Gotham's Gas Bill May Be Quietly Strangled." The "Commercial Advertiser" of April 27, 1885, sounds a warning: "The Gas Bill's Danger."

The bill passed the first reading by a vote of 180 to 1. Then the Consolidated lobby threw into the scale a stream of gold. The newspapers one by one began to lose faith in the bill.

"It was a notorious fact," wrote a well-known newspaper correspondent, "that members were offered \$5,000 to make a speech against the gas bill, or \$2,000 merely to absent themselves while the vote was being taken."

The bill was defeated amidst the cynical sneers of those "on the inside" and the rage of the "outsiders."

"Eminent Citizens" at Work.

Such was the origin of the Consolidated Gas Company, conceived in fraud and born in corruption. Our physical newspapers of the New York "Times" type often uphold the "eminent citizens" for accepting active politics and leaving the city a prey to obscure Tammany politicians. This is a ruse to deceive the working man to think the "eminent citizens" a parasite of civic virtue. It is the "eminent citizens" who are invariably a full-blown capitalist and exploiter, that constitutes the source of all corruption. There cannot be more glaring proof of the utter civic depravity of our "respectable" and "cultured" class, who are so willing to "reform" the ignorant workingman, than the names of the stockholders who were behind the monumental Consolidated fraud. Here are some of the names for our pleasure to conjure with: Oswald Ottendorfer, Thos. H. Ely, D. H. McAlpin, E. L. Hewitt, Wm. Van derbilt, A. A. Low, G. DeForest, Van Buren Cutting, and he, even he, the very saint among reformers, R. F. Fulton Cutting.

Inconsistent R. Fulton Cutting! You have helped in robbing this municipality of millions; you have piled up a fortune by stealing public franchises; why then do you about "reform" when others attempt to limit your profits? The hard work of some people so despise their consciences that they can't feel it when they are being cheated.—The New Times.

have assisted in debauching legislation and municipalities; you have bought politicians by wholesale during the great gas deal. Is it your part now to hold up these foul, cheap politicians to public scorn, while you, their seducer, pose as a municipal reformer?

Far-swing R. Fulton Cutting! You and your friends have deep interests in gas, railways, subways, and all other public franchises and you have reform warriers at the head of the most spectacular noise with the most honest and least harm to your vested interests.

R. Fulton Cutting, of Consolidated fraud cases, of subway fraud cases, of Pure Cane, Reformers, we, Socialists, acknowledge you as a dangerous and subtle foe; befogging the people's mind with fraudulent issues and dazling it with costly candidates. But to the boss of our own "practicals" who would have on his Socialist thunders to the yoke of R. Fulton Cutting's chariot, we say: "Shoo, you weak and foolish things!"

Later Corrupt Deals.

The Equitable and East River Gas companies consolidated in 1888 under the name of New Amsterdam Gas Company. There was a sort of "way" with the Consolidated, resulting into a combination. This great gas combine secured control of all the electric companies of Greater New York and of the subways. A bill affecting the interests of the gas combine in Astoria was before the Legislature in 1889. For the sake of political effect the Republican party decided to defeat the bill. Andrew Freedman, Richard Croker's chum, offered to the combine the vote of Tammany legislators for the sum of \$300,000. But the Republicans raised a hue and cry and the combine declined Freedman's offer and made a deal with the Republicans. Thereupon the Republican State Land Board sold to the Astoria Light, Heat and Power Company sixteen acres of land under water at Astoria for \$3,050. Republican and Reform Governor Roosevelt approved the deal. Tammany men shed tears of indignation and avowed (see letter of Corporation Counsel to the Governor) that the land was worth \$2,000,000.

Now this great gas combine has New York at its mercy. No Republican or Democratic politician, judge, or governor dares to cross its will. However, it is not technically correct to speak of the gas interests as having secured control of electric lighting, railways and subways. As a matter of fact, it happened just the other way. It is the Rockefeller interests, represented by Morgan and Belmont, and the Rockefeller interests that extended their sphere of influence to gas.

The Ramifications of Monopoly.

Any man who seriously threatens the interests may find it out to his cost. He may find himself in the position of the hero of a Norse legend. The hero felt in his breast the will and strength to do wonderful deeds of prowess. He was talking of it to a wise man. "Here is a deed to task your strength," said the wise one, pointing to a snake that was sleeping with its head stuck out of a small hole in the ground; "Pull out this snake."

"This," exclaimed the hero, "is contempt, and nothing the snake with his fingers be jerked it out of the hole. A great deal of the snake came out, but more still remained stuck in the hole. The hero seized the coil with his hand and gave another pull. The hole enlarged and a much thicker coil appeared above ground. Still the other end of the snake remained underground. The hero stepped on the marching end and seized it with both hands, gave a vigorous pull. The ground heaved, parted and a long and much thicker coil of the snake appeared above ground. Still no end in view. Undaunted our hero was about to pull harder, when the wise man tapped him on the shoulder and said: "Look under the ground." The hero looked into the gaping earth and saw the ever thickening, immense coils of the snake reaching out around the earth.

This story has a moral to any one tackling the gas interests. He will discover on the second pull the electric light interests, then the surface railway interests. He will find himself pulling at the subway and, if wisdom aids him, he will see, attached to the subway, the Standard Oil and Morgan interests, and he will find all this in the United States census statistics. The census statistics show what they are paid to find. They found thirteen independent gas companies in Greater New York. Among these, thirteen companies competition is rampant, you know. Prices are slaughtered, you know, and one company furnishes better gas than the other, you know. Ah, who would be it if not for the glorious free competition. By all means let us alone. None of your Socialists!

WHY?

Labor creates capital, but has none. Labor garners the grain, but eats the chaff.

Labor builds palace trains and automobiles, but walks.

Labor builds labor-saving machines, but labors harder than ever.

Labor manufactures guns and is shot down with them.

Labor elects representatives, but has no representation.

Labor has the ballot, but doesn't know how to use it.

Labor builds streets and public highways, but is not allowed free assembly upon them.

Labor has brains, ability, and the power to change and remedy all this, but is afraid of its own power.—Iowa Socialist.

The Social Democratic Party of New York is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due to requirements of the election law. Our emblem is the Arm and Torch.

Send 10 cents to the Socialist Literature Company, No. 134 William street, New York City, and get a portrait of Mother Jones.

SUITS AGAINST TRADE UNIONS.

Chicago Capitalists Demand Damages Aggregating \$131,000.

Tell Vale President is Being Vigorously Followed Up—its Purpose to Cripple or Intimidate Labor Organizations—How Real Victory is to Be Won.

Twelve suits against labor unions for amounts aggregating \$131,000 have been begun in the Chicago courts. John M. Siles, a painting contractor, asks for the small sum of \$50,000 from the Painters' District Council, and unions affiliated in the Building Trades Council. The Kellogg Switchboard & Supply Company, feeling the effects of the boycott, puts in five smaller claims of \$15,000 each, while six girls employed at the Kellogg plant think they have been so dreadfully treated by women strike pickets that they want \$1,000 each as bail for their injured feelings. These suits, of course, are actually inspired by the bosses.

The land of the American Boycott Association is plainly seen in these cases. The Association's attorney is conducting most of the prosecution. Mr. Siles, ever since he began his fight on the unions about five years ago, has been unable to secure enough competent workmen, and much of his building has been delayed. The Boycott Association has come to his rescue with the suits. The defendants are: Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America; Painters' District Council of Chicago; Advisory Board of the Building Trades of Chicago; Gaudin's Association, Local No. 250; Journeymen Plumbers, Protective and Benevolent Society; Joiners; and twenty-two individuals, officers and members of these bodies.

The Kellogg Company suits are against the following unions, on the claim that the unions "conspire to injure its business." For \$15,000 damages against the International Association of Machinists, District No. 8, Lee S. Fisher, Business Agent; for \$15,000 damages against the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers, and Brass Molders' International Union; for \$15,000 damages against the Brass Workers' Union, Local 137, H. G. Crane, Business Agent; for \$15,000 damages against the Brass Molders' Union, Local 38, E. H. Johnson, Business Agent; for \$15,000 damages against the Electrical Workers' Union, J. J. Lamb, Business Agent.

Object of Attack.

The object of this attack is not merely to recover the sum of \$131,000. Doubtless the plaintiffs would be willing to spend three times that sum in order to win the cases. The purpose is to cripple the unions financially, if possible and at the least, to intimidate them, distract their attention from the larger issues and fix it on minor questions of finances and legal technicalities. With them acting as judges and district attorneys who have been trained as corporation lawyers and owe their positions to capitalist patronage, the unions' chances in court are very bad. But even if the final decision is not against them, if the suits are dragged on for a long time and then dropped or compromised, the labor organizations will suffer great loss of prestige and of fighting power, unless they resolve to meet the attack in a spirit of uncompromising antagonism to the capitalist class.

How to Win.

The cases must be defended in the courts of law, of course. But if they are defended only in the courts of law, the boss; the union can hope in an expensive and inglorious escape from ruin, not a decisive victory. The courts of law belong to the enemies and oppressors of the working class, belong to capitalism both by their personnel and by their methods and traditions. The wise policy for the unions is to make their real fight before the court of public opinion, of working-class opinion; there, not to defend themselves, but to arraign their persecutors for high crimes against humanity and civilization; a verdict for Labor at the ballot-box will assure a favorable verdict in the courts of law and will do much more. Only so is real and lasting victory to be won.

WHY?

Labor creates capital, but has none. Labor garners the grain, but eats the chaff.

Labor builds palace trains and automobiles, but walks.

Labor builds labor-saving machines, but labors harder than ever.

Labor manufactures guns and is shot down with them.

Labor elects representatives, but has no representation.

Labor has the ballot, but doesn't know how to use it.

Labor builds streets and public highways, but is not allowed free assembly upon them.

Labor has brains, ability, and the power to change and remedy all this, but is afraid of its own power.—Iowa Socialist.

The Social Democratic Party of New York is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due to requirements of the election law. Our emblem is the Arm and Torch.

Send 10 cents to the Socialist Literature Company, No. 134 William street, New York City, and get a portrait of Mother Jones.

BLACKLIST LEGAL.

So Holds a United States Circuit Court.

Federal Judge Rogers, at Suit of Western Union, Dismisses Injunction and Rules that Employers Have a Right to Combine in Denying Employment to Union Men.

The decision of Judge Rogers of the United States Circuit Court at St. Louis, in dismissing the injunction suit brought by blacklisted workmen against the Western Union Telegraph Company, is one of the most sweeping decisions against labor ever rendered. It completely supports the plea of the Western Union's counsel, that employers have a right to discharge their employees "for any cause or for no cause" and have a right to agree among themselves not to employ certain men and to exchange lists of men so discharged or barred from employment.

Several states have laws forbidding blacklisting, but if the Rogers decision is sustained, as seems probable, these laws will be ineffective, as coming in conflict with a higher authority.

A Clear Case.

The Western Union, in its defense, denied the plaintiffs' statement of facts as to blacklisting, declaring that the discharges complained of had been grounded on insubordination or other causes. But the company did not rest on this defense. It claimed an absolute right to discharge men at pleasure and without assigning reasons and claimed further that, as every employer has this right, it followed that employers have the right to agree in exercising it and to exchange information as to the identity of men whom they do not wish to employ. Judge Rogers, in his decision, explicitly supports this argument. He holds that there could be no conspiracy to commit a lawful act, such as he held to be the discharge of the company's employees because of being members of a union, and that the company had the right to maintain a list on which might be placed the name of a discharged employee and the cause of discharge, and this list might be given to others, provided its contents were truthful and its circulation honest.

In suits brought against workmen for striking and boycotting a different theory has been maintained. It has been held that, while every workman has a right to give up his job or to refrain from working, by refusing certain business men, yet a combination of workmen to exercise these lawful rights for the purpose of compelling employers to accede to certain conditions may be treated as an unlawful conspiracy. However, logical inconsistency seldom troubles the courts. The same judge can hold a strike or a boycott to be unlawful and a lockout or a blacklist to be lawful, without ruffling his dignity in the least.

Real Consistency.

The inconsistency of the two theories is only apparent, not real. They are thoroughly consistent with the essential principles of capitalism. The central point of capitalism is the sacredness of profit, on which all else depends. Whatever conduces to business prosperity is lawful. The proletarian man has no right to work except by the permission of the owner of capital, who makes profit on his labor. When no satisfactory profit can be made, the owner of capital is under no obligation to allow men to work. The means of production are his. He has a right to combine with other capitalists in using them or holding them out of use, because this conduces to profit-making, which is the motive of industry. But for the profitless to refuse to work at terms profitable to the possessors, is to interfere with prosperity, and for them to combine in such refusal is to threaten the whole profit system.

In a word, Judge Rogers' decision is a perfectly correct, just, and wise one from the capitalist point of view. That it is wrong, unjust, and stupid from a working-class point of view only proves the necessity of the working class combining on the political field, not only to elect judges who understand working-class ideas to interpret the law, but to elect men of the same sort to make and execute the law and to change the whole system, so that human welfare instead of capitalist profit, shall be the basis of all our institutions.

The capitalist's right of profit and the proletarian's right to live are absolutely inconsistent. The former rules to-day, the Socialists declare that the latter must be established in its place.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE PICNIC.

Arrangements are completed for the big picnic of the Socialist Party state organization of Massachusetts to be held at New Donner Landing (formerly Lovell's Grove), on Labor Day, Sept. 7. This is an ideal place for a picnic, having fine ball ground and quarter mile bicycle track and being well lighted by electricity. The Nantucket Beach cars pass the entrance. The program includes a tug-of-war between Brockton and Quincy teams, ball game between Prof. Kaplan's pupils, prize waiting in and running races, fancy dancing by Prof. Kaplan's pupils, prize waiting in the evening, and other attractions. Very fine prizes are provided. Eight good Socialist speakers will address the large crowds that are expected. All possible aid money for tickets sold up to Aug. 29 should be forwarded at once to J. Harry Page, 690 Washington street, Boston.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

ROCHESTER NOMINATES.

Charles Bach Heads Social Democratic City Ticket.

Full List of City and County Candidates Chosen at Enthusiastic Gathering—Prospects Are Brighter Than Ever Before.

Charles Bach, an active member of the Button Workers' Union and one of the ablest comrades of the Social Democratic Party in Rochester, was chosen by the city convention of the party, held on Aug. 21, as candidate for Mayor.

The other names on the city ticket are: For Comptroller, Gail Martindale, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; for City Treasurer, James Sullivan, of the Hack Drivers' Union; for President of the Common Council, V. A. Van Anken, salesman; for School Commissioners, Mrs. Mabel Kernan and A. Hutton, the latter a member of the Artists' Union; for Judge of the Municipal Court, H. D. Henderson, of the Typographical Union; for Assessors, Joel Moses, of the Clothing Cutters' Union, and William Hammen.

This convention, which was presided over by Comrade Moses, with Charles Bach as secretary, was the most enthusiastic and in every way the most satisfactory ever held in the city. Frank A. Silverman unexpectedly came in during the proceedings and being invited to speak, responded in a stirring and impressive address. Comrade Bach also spoke. The latter, who heads the ticket this year, commands the highest respect wherever he is known, combining the devoted energy of young manhood with a studious and thoughtful temperament that makes him a most valuable public speaker.

The City Platform.

The reading of the following platform, which was unanimously adopted, was greeted with loud cheers: "The Social Democratic Party of Rochester, New York, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of International Socialism, as proclaimed in the Social Democratic Party's national platform adopted by the Indianapolis convention, held July 29-Aug. 1, 1901.

"Together with Socialists of all countries, we hold it to be the supreme duty of the working class to capture the powers of state from the capitalist class, so that the working class may secure complete control of all branches of government, for the purpose of transferring from the hands of the capitalist class to the people collectively, the ownership of all means of production, in short, all machinery of production and distribution, the same to be owned and operated by the people collectively as their interests or convenience may dictate.

"No longer as the great modern tool of production and distribution are the private property of the capitalists, who will permit their use by the working class only on such terms and conditions as are dictated by the interest of the capitalist class, we hold that no permanent relief can come to the workers. "The giant trusts of to-day, which are already monopolizing every field of human activity and are the forerunners of still more gigantic industrial combinations of capital, present a problem which can only be solved by the adoption of the Socialist principle in economics, the collective ownership and operation of all means of production and distribution.

"We hold further that the many contests of recent times between Capital and Labor of all industries, in and out of the city, clearly emphasize the antagonism of interests between Capital, the exploiter, and Labor, the exploited; that the capitalist class, fully conscious of its power and its interests, aims at and is satisfied with nothing less than the complete subjugation of Labor. The workers, too, must recognize this war between the two classes, take their battles into the political field where they are strongest, array themselves on the side of the Social Democratic Party, which represents the interests of the working classes, vote themselves as a class into complete control of all branches of government, and then endeavor to project themselves preparatory to their final emancipation.

"We, therefore, enter the municipal campaign pledged, when elected, to enact into laws the following: "First. The municipalization of the street railway and gas and electric light plants. The city should own its own street railway system for the same reason that it owns its street and public highways. Gas and electric light plants are public utilities like water, parks, streets, fire departments, etc., and should be owned by the city. "Second. The municipalization of the utilities derived from these public utilities will be used to increase wages and shorten the working day of the workers and to improve the public service revenue derived from this source are in no instance to be used to reduce taxes.

"Third. Abolition of the contract system in public improvements: the city, without the intervention of so-called contractors, to perform its own work, such as constructing and repairing streets, improving parks, and building schools or other public buildings. All such work to be done under the supervision of city officials, the workers to be employed

***By A. M. Simons.**

It is just because of the "community"

There is another thing which occurs to me in this connection and which might fall within the field of the subject discussed. I believe that some arrangement should be made for more frequent meetings of the national organizations than is afforded by the quadrennial conventions. It seems to me that it is not impossible, and that it would be productive of the greatest good to hold conventions for discussion only, each year. In this field of municipal activities especially, such a

way:
Blind crowds and kings have had their
day.
Break the dead branches from the
path:
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men,
Steadfast to build the world again.
To this event the ages ran:
Make way for Brotherhood, make way
for Man!"

He is weary; he is blighted. He cannot follow his product, as stocks, bonds, deeds, mortgages, rents, interest, dividends, profits, salaries and taxes devour it. He is thankful for the little that returns to him, dirty and adulterated, and never comes to produce more as long as the masters permit.

High, within a charmed circle, sit the crowned and applauded masters. To the outer rim of this circle the laborers are allowed to advance and deposit their burdens.

First Laborer: "Your worship, as my daily tribute I bring you worth of food."

DENTIST,
307 E. 90th St., NEW YORK.

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The Worker.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 6, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

LABOR DAY FACTS AND FIGURES.

Workingmen, here are a few cold facts and plain figures worthy of your consideration on Labor Day. They concern you and your wives and children. It is you who will have to solve the problem they present.

First for the figures. We take them from the United States Census (Manufactures, Part I, p. 3).

In the year 1890 your labor produced an average value of \$8.02. In the year 1900 you produced an average of \$8.72.

In 1890 your average yearly wage was \$4.15. In 1900 your average yearly wage was \$4.17. Producing \$30 more, you got \$8 less.

In 1890 the capitalists got a yearly profit from the average wage-worker of \$3.87. In 1900 they got \$4.35 profit from the average worker.

You work harder and faster, you get less, and you give your employer bigger profits. Incidentally, you also give your landlord bigger rent.

You see why the capitalists say the country is prosperous. As old Louis XIV said, "I am the state," so the capitalists think, "We are the country."

How about YOUR prosperity, fellow workers?

And how will it be in 1910 at this rate? You will be getting old by that time—workingmen grow old fast, these days—but how about your children? Do you wish them to be even worse off than you are?

No, you say. That is what we are organized in unions for—to try to resist this degradation of our class.

Very well. Let us turn now from the "figures" and remind you of some "facts" of the last year—just remind you of them; you know them already. Gigantic capitalist leagues have been formed, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metal Trades Association, the Anti-Boycott Association, the National Economic League, and many others, national or local, whose objects are to unite their forces in resisting strikes and carrying on lockouts, to keep spies in your unions and maintain permanent black-lists, to conduct damage suits and criminal prosecutions against you, to misinform and miseducate the people through the press, and to mobilize the political influence of wealth against the workers.

In half-dozen states, during the last twelve months, important labor laws—such as those making eight hours a legal workday on public work, requiring prompt payment of wages in cash, restricting the sweatshop system, etc.—have been declared unconstitutional by the courts, on the ground that they violated the right of free contract. You have not heard of the courts invalidating any laws lobbied for by the capitalists, though.

In this year's session of Congress the net result of your attempt to get favorable legislation by political and humbly asking for it has been zero—or worse. In the state legislatures, with few exceptions, it is the same. And the railway and trolley and gas and electric companies and the trust

A CLEAR STATEMENT.

National Convention of Flint Glass Workers Adopts a Declaration of Socialist Principles.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union, at its national convention in Cincinnati, adopted the following declaration, moved and argued for by our comrade, Comptroller William Crook of Madison, Ind.:

"Whereas, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely insufficient to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage-workers, or even to forestall for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

"Whereas, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended, for the benefit of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

"Therefore, It is a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step and to secure to itself its own emancipation, that the wage-workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unquenchable spirit of solidarity, and to make the most strenuous conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle, at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Com-

monwealth for the present state of class production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

GLASS WORKERS' STRIKE.

Conferences are being held daily between the national officers of the Amalgamated Association of Glass Workers, the officers of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, members of the Metropolitan District of Mirror Manufacturers, and a committee representing the 1,200 glass workers of this city, who have been on strike for the past three months. The conferences are held at the Broadway Central Hotel. Should no settlement satisfactory to the local strikers be reached, a general strike of all glass workers of the country is to be ordered as soon as negotiations cease.

TRUNK AND BAG WORKERS.

The fourth biennial convention of the Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union of America will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth Street, New York City, Sept. 21 to 24, inclusive. The convention will open at 9 a. m. and remain in session until 6 p. m. each day. There will be a great deal of important business to come before the convention. The Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union was organized on Dec. 23, 1893, and within the past two years it has doubled its membership. All independent trunk, bag, pocketbook, purse, and leather-goods workers' unions are invited to send fraternal delegates to the convention. Those desiring further information may address Geo. W. Gladig, Secretary of Local No. 19, 600 Humboldt Street, Brooklyn.

Remember the Grand Labor Festival at Fisher's Park, Newton, L. I., on Sunday and Monday, Sept. 6 and 7. Half the proceeds are to go to the campaign fund of the Socialist Party of Greater New York and half to the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association.

AS IN RUSSIA.

Bosses' Associations Will Copy the Tsar's Passport System.

Combination of Western Railroads to Follow Example of Metal Trades Association in Establishing a Central Employment and Blacklist Bureau.

Chicago press dispatches say that a combination of Western railroads to handle labor problems is under consideration. Most of the large railway companies west of Chicago are said to be already committed to the plan, which is thus described:

"One of the features of the proposed union of railroads is to be a general employment bureau. This is to have branches in the various cities, and every railroad which is a party to the agreement is to receive its minor employees through this medium. This would apply to clerks, station agents, engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen generally, machinists, carpenters, section foremen and section men; switchmen, flagmen, watchmen, operators, dispatchers, and all laborers.

"When the plan is ripe, every railroad included in the organization will declare its share open, which means that the rights of non-union workers will be recognized and maintained as equal to those of union workers. There will be no antagonism to the unions, but the railroads will act simultaneously on labor issues and will give each other open support.

"This plan is in line with the employment bureau projected by the National Metal Trades Association. The latter will have a national office and local offices in all large cities, and their aims stated by the employers to be to assist in providing the employers with satisfactory workmen, and the workmen with satisfactory employment."

Members of the National Metal Trades Association are required to make statements to the secretary of every workman in their employ, covering time, address, and special occupation, and other points, the purpose being to enable the central body to keep track of the men and prevent those who are "permanently active" as organizers or agitators from getting employment.

If this goes on a little further we shall have in this country, so far as workmen are concerned, a state of affairs very similar to that of Russia, where no man is allowed to travel from town to town without reporting his movements to the police and getting a passport, which must be exhibited wherever the authorities demand it. We need a little more Russian tyranny in America, apparently, to awaken the "spirit of '73," of which we hear so much on the Fourth of July, but which so seldom shows itself in action.

"OBSTRUCTING THE POSTAL SERVICE."

Plans on Foot to Enable Railway Companies to Bring This Charge Against Any Employees Who Dare to Strike.

It is stated that Postmaster General Payne is proposing to issue an order which will have the effect of making practically every train in the United States a mail train and of placing the railroads in their entirety under the protection of the United States government. The object of this move is frankly stated to be "to obviate the possibility of interference with interstate commerce and passenger traffic by strikers, as in times past."

The purpose of the measure is not at all to improve the postal service, but simply by making every train nominally and legally a mail train, whether actually carrying mail or not, to enable the railway capitalists, in the event of a strike, to call in the aid of the United States government to punish the strikers for "obstructing the government postal service." This trick has been turned several times at critical moments in railway strikes and it is now proposed to make it general. It is quite in line with the governmental policy against the labor movement now developing so rapidly all over the world.

"Justice," the Socialist Democratic weekly of London, writes: "The Russian Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve, has recently made attempts to enter into relations with the Russian Revolutionary movement, with a view to extracting from them a promise to cease agitation, to allow him to work out a reform project he had in hand, but which required peace in the land. The Russian comrades know, however, too well that, given peace in the land, nothing would be heard of any reform projects. It shows how the movement grows in Russia and how the Tsar's government fears it when they try such plans which are for them the result of something like desperation."

I am persuaded that it would require a manifying glass of rare power to reveal the point at which gambling ceases and business begins—Eugene V. Debs.

"The Socialist Democratic Party of New York is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due to requirements of the election law. Our emblem is the Arm and Torch.

IN ALABAMA, TOO.

As in Colorado, Georgia, and Elsewhere, Police Try to Suppress Socialist Street Meetings—Comrades Will Insist on Rights.

State Secretary Waldborn of Alabama reports to the National Secretary the arrest and imprisonment of Comrade McGuire, a member of Local Birmingham, for talking Socialism on the streets of that city. "Holiness" meetings had just been held, the speakers attacking Socialism. After this meeting McGuire began to hold one and answered the arguments and explained Socialism. He was ordered by the police to "shut up and move on." McGuire refused and was locked up for the night. Next morning Comrade Waldborn had the trial postponed for a week and engaged counsel, who made the policeman swear out a warrant, which the latter did not want to do. The judge instructed the policeman to swear out the warrant, as he should not have arrested McGuire if he were not willing to do that. The warrant was sworn out and an order was issued for the blocking of McGuire's street by police, horses, trunks of any kind, was used for the argument. The judge, Lord McGuire \$5, but granted an appeal on a bond of \$25.

The judge said he "had to impose the fine, but wanted an appeal taken." The case will be watched with interest when it comes up in the higher courts. Comrade Waldborn also reports that twenty-eight locals now in Alabama, and hard work is gradually getting them in shape.

COLORADO COMRADES WIN THEIR FIGHT.

Socialists of Denver, by Vigorous Resistance to Police Interference, Establish Right to Speak on Street.

State Secretary Martin of Colorado writes to the National Secretary, under date of Aug. 20: "Local Denver is jubilant over her victory in the Denver street case. Meetings are being held on the street every evening without police interference. Last night the special committee on street speaking and demonstrating the right of free speech in the courts turned in its final report and was discharged. The committee raised \$238.76 and expended \$223.35 in the four weeks of its work, and did this without drawing on the funds of the local for a dollar. It turned over to the treasury of the local a balance of \$14.41 in cash and some \$20 in unpaid subscriptions, most of which will be paid. The committee took up the work without a dollar on hand, but at no time during its existence was it seriously hampered for want of funds. The enthusiasm, liberality, and self-denial of the comrades was equal to every demand as soon as made. The fight has done us great good every way, but chiefly in inspiring the comrades with confidence in their ability to do things. The local is more solidly united than ever before in its entire history."

(Note.—This item has been delayed through Uncle Sam's failure to bring us a copy of Secretary Mallory's bulletin last week.)

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN NEW YORK.

Open air agitation meetings will be held in Greater New York under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party or auxiliary organizations as follows:

THURSDAY, SEPT. 3.
R. W. corner Thirtieth Street and Eighth Avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Rosen and Abrahamson.

FRIIDAY, SEPT. 4.
Attorney and Houston Streets, 10th A. D. Speakers: Glidden, Kirshenbaum, Harris and others.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 5.
R. W. corner Sixteenth Street and Eighth Avenue, 7th A. D. Speakers: Sackin and Dolbeare.

N. E. corner Ninety-ninth Street and Amsterdam Avenue. Speakers: Sackin and Paulitch.

MONDAY, SEPT. 7.
N. E. corner Sixth Street and Avenue C, 14th A. D. Speakers: J. Goldstein, Miss Johanna Dahme, Korn and others.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 8.
One Hundred and Seventy-seventh Street and Madison Avenue.

N. E. corner 100th Street and Columbus Avenue. Speakers: Phillips and Abrahamson.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 9.
R. W. corner Sixty-seventh Street and Amsterdam Avenue, 10th A. D. Speakers: Cole and Lewis.

N. W. corner Forty-ninth Street and Ninth Avenue, 15th A. D. Speakers: Cassidy and Phillips.

One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street between Third and Lexington Avenues.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 10.
N. W. corner Twenty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue, 9th A. D. Speakers: Abrahamson and Josephson.

100th Street and Amsterdam Avenue. Speakers: Markiel and Karlnsky.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 12.
R. W. corner Thirty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Lee and Sackin.

S. W. corner Columbus Avenue and 100th Street.

Brooklyn.

FRIIDAY, SEPT. 4.
Watkins Avenue, corner of Fifth Avenue, 21st A. D.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 5.
Atlantic Avenue and Pennsylvania, 21st A. D. Speakers: Strumppfer, Heid and Koenig.

CHAIN GANG FOR SPEAKER.

Georgia Democrats Defend Capitalist Interests.

Salvationists and "Holiness" People Encouraged to Speak on the Streets—Socialist Daniel D. Permit and Sentenced to Shameful Punishment for Insisting on Right to Speak.

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 21.—It will probably be interesting to the comrades all over the country to learn of the recent experience our local comrade had with the city authorities regarding the holding of street meetings in this city. A brief statement will show the capitalist methods adopted to prevent the Socialists from opening the eyes of the workers in the "Solid South." It is simply one more illustration of the capitalist instinct trying to preserve the "status quo."

Some time ago Comrade John M. Hay visited Atlanta and proceeded to hold "open-air" meetings. He was promptly stopped by the authorities, on the ground that his speeches were of a political nature and that he would have to get a permit from the Mayor or the chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners. Repeated attempts to procure this permit failed and Comrade Hay was unable to make any headway, having other engagements to fill on his route.

Some few weeks later Comrade J. J. Pitts of the "Appeal" came here to address street meetings. He succeeded in procuring a permit, to the surprise of most of us, and held several meetings on the principal thoroughfares. The chairman of the Police Board, Doctor Amos Fox, was present at one of these meetings and, on the ground that Comrade Pitts was "arraigned class against class," the permit was revoked. This high-handed interference with our rights was more than we could stand. At an enthusiastic meeting of our local it was decided to test the matter in the courts. The "Appeal" promised financial support. Several thousand dollars were printed and announced that a Socialist meeting on the street to test the city ordinance would be held on August 17. Fully a thousand people gathered to see the result.

A Test Case.
Comrade Pitts at the appointed hour mounted a box and proceeded. He had hardly spoken two minutes when the Chief of Police and several other blue-coated "defenders of law and order" stepped up and asked for his permit. Comrade Pitts could show none and was told to get off the box. He refused to do so unless a copy of charges was given him, stating the cause of his arrest. To this the police consented. The trial was set for next day.

Quite a crowd gathered to watch the "trial" which was a mockery from start to finish. Attorney Fields in behalf of Comrade Pitts showed the inconsistency of the authorities in refusing a permit to one citizen when the Salvation Army and the "Holiness" people were not only allowed but encouraged to hold forth on the streets. It is worth while to bear in mind that the Mayor, who so bitterly opposed the issuance of a permit and who had told Comrade Pitts that if another attempt was made to speak he would put him in jail, asked to be allowed to act as police judge the regular incumbent being on vacation in this particular case, which was granted. The result could easily be foreseen. Comrade Pitts was given thirty days in the chain gang, without the alternative of a fine. Of course the case was appealed to the higher courts, where it is now pending, a local comrade giving bond to the amount of \$200.

Fight to Be Continued.
Again the local met in special session and decided to arrange a grand protest meeting. The matter was taken up in the local papers (one of which, the "News," was quite friendly by the local comrades, and certainly aroused considerable comment. We utilized it as much as possible. The protest meeting was very successful. Resolutions were adopted condemning the action of the authorities and also thanking the "News" for its fair stand in the matter. (The editor of the "News" by the way, is John Temple Graves of New York Chautauqua fame.)

We shall continue in the good work and keep things warm. We are anxiously waiting the decision of the Superior Court in the matter. Should we win, we shall of course continue our open-air meetings.

The National Committee should certainly devote a little more of its energies to the South. There is a splendid field for agitation. If done systematically, good speakers should be sent here as often as possible, and I am sure it would repay the outlay many times. Atlanta is getting to be an industrial center, with all that that term implies to the Socialist. The movement here is growing and can be made a power, if the proper effort is made.

The recent occurrences brought us about fifteen new members. The people are waking up down here. It behooves us to step in and guide their vague but growing discontent with Democratic party politics and put the Socialist position before them.

MAX WILK.

"The special scene in which the expression 'the intelligent' ('Intelligens' or 'Intelligencia') is used in speaking of the Russian revolutionary movement will easily be observed by the reader.

THE STRIKE IN ODESSA.

Greatest Labor Demonstration Russia Has Ever Seen.

Extraordinary Conduct of the Authorities—Apparent Stupid Duplicity of the Government Explained by Conflict of Old and New Methods of Dealing with the Revolutionary Movement.

We are allowed to quote from a letter written by a resident of Odessa, Russia, to a comrade in this city. The letter was written early in August, before the atrocious suppression of the strike by the authorities. The writer says:

"It is possible that by the time my letter reaches you, you will know what has taken place here. Something interesting and extraordinary is going on in our city—a general strike. It started with the street-car employees, whose strike was crowned with complete success. They were followed by the men employed in the port, numbering 4,000 sailors and longshoremen. The latter went on strike, and instead of 80 kopeks a day, which they had to get before they were getting 1 rouble 50 kopeks (75 cents). But the trouble is that one of the steamship companies has among its stockholders several members of the imperial family and the result was that the government sent over four hundred navy troops to take the place of the strikers. These men upon arriving here were greatly dissatisfied when they learned what they were brought for, but they were forced to work for fear of facing a court martial. Still, the local sailors do not rest. Yesterday, on the fourth day of their strike, when the steamers, after a three days' rest, were about to sail, the workmen got on board and let the steam out."

"The day before yesterday street-car drivers and conductors all over the city joined the strikers. The demonstrations included a ten-hour workday and a strike by the month, instead of by the day. It is three days since the cars stopped running and Gambler, owner of all the street car lines, sustains enormous losses. He is negotiating now with the workmen, who will in all probability gain a victory."

The General Strike.
"Yesterday, absolutely all men employed in various factories and mills quit work. A large crowd paraded the streets and invited all workmen to join them. All day long we were in the street and were surprised by the quiet and peaceful conduct of so many thousands of workmen. I witnessed several scenes when the crowd of striking people proceeded from bakery to bakery, from building to building, and grew in numbers as they went along. At present the situation is this: All waters at hotels and restaurants, masquerades, amusements, etc., are on strike. Mass meetings are arranged for to-day in the outskirts of the city. The workmen hold separate meetings according to their trades."

"The authorities took no measures until yesterday, when troops patrolled the city, but our new prefect says that until signs of riot appear he would not do anything. Meanwhile the strikers themselves do all in their power to have peaceful demonstrations and avoid violence and rioting. At least, that is the way they have managed until now; what will occur further on is hard to predict."

"However, the situation is now threatened with lack of bread and perhaps of water, too. We still have water today, but they say that the men employed on the water-works are going to quit."

No newspapers have been issued today, as the printers have also joined the strikers and, in a word, a strike of such magnitude is not remembered here and it ranks next to the recent strike at Baku."

The Authorities' Treachery.
How shamefully the promise of the authorities was broken when the seriousness of the demonstration was fully realized, we know from the press dispatches of last week. The whole affair is one of the most remarkable and, as presented in the daily press, one of the most puzzling things we have been reported from that unhappy country. That even Russian Tsarism could deliberately practice such duplicity as to encourage the holding of demonstrations with the purpose of violently suppressing them seemed so incredible that many have been inclined to doubt the truth of the dispatches. We are in a position to give, upon trustworthy authority, an explanation of the affair which, while it takes away some of its melodramatic horror, makes the news still more significant of the wonderful forces that are at work in the midst of Russian society and the alarm with which they inspire the ruling powers."

It is generally known that the Russian revolutionary movement has undergone a great transformation since the days when Signaler wrote. Confined then to a small number of the "intelligent" or cultured class, it necessarily took on the form of conspiracy, whether for the purposes of terrorism or of education. To-day, although the element of secrecy of course still remains in much of its work, the revolution has become a widespread and popular movement, a mass movement, appealing to social

"THE WIDOW AND THE FATHERLESS."

When Socialists insist that, in order to put an end to class rule and class strife and denationalizing riches and degrading poverty, it is necessary that the means of production be made public property, cutting off the profit which non-producing possessors now extract from the workers, the favorite argument of the defenders of capitalism is to tell us that to make this change would be to despoil the widows and orphans who own stock in the trusts and the railroad companies. One would imagine, to listen to these apologists, that all the capital of the country belonged to poor widows and orphans, and that Rockefeller and Morgan and Carnegie were only benevolent trustees for these defenseless persons. Ah, how their hearts bleed at the thought of the innocent stockholding widows being disinherited by the wicked Socialists!

How much the "masters, lords, and rulers" of our land really care for widows is illustrated by this little news item from the "Evening Sun" of last Tuesday:

"EVICTED, TOOK POISON.
"Dispossessed, and with no prospect of outlook for the future, Mrs. Mary Lang, widow, 74 years old, who lived alone at 215 Madison Street, Williamsburg, ended her life last night with carbolic acid. She once owned a little house, but after the death of her husband a few years ago she was unable to do much work on account of rheumatism."

"She placed a mortgage on her home, and in time, when her savings were gone, she was unable to pay the interest. The mortgage was foreclosed, and then her struggle with poverty began. She tried to work at tailoring, but it was of no avail."

"Mrs. Lang became in arrears to her landlord, and last week he told her that unless she paid her rent she would have to move. Her few worldly belongings were put out on the sidewalk yesterday afternoon, and last night the street became deserted as she swallowed carbolic acid. A policeman found her lying on her furniture and summoned a patrol wagon from the Stagg street station, and the woman was taken to St. Catherine's Hospital, where she died early this morning without regaining consciousness."

Mr. Morgan's subsidized organ makes no exclamation of horror at this. Why should it? The story is not an uncommon one. Such things happen every day. They are a part of the social cost of "prosperity." Capitalism exists workmen's widows from their poor homes in order that capitalist widows may buy jewels to dazzle titled fortune-hunters at Newport. Capitalism drives workmen to insanity or suicide while it builds palaces for them that neither toll nor spin. Capitalism slaughters workmen by thousands a year in mine and mill and railway "accidents," and more slowly and quietly murders myriads in disease-breeding tenements and sweatshops, that "opercating expenses" may be kept down while rents and "net earnings" go up. Capitalism drives workmen's orphans into the factory or upon the street, to wear away their childhood lives in piling up profits for those whose strong and healthy bodies know no efforts more arduous than those of the ballroom and the golf links.

Great and holy is capitalism, that astoundingly "rids the widow and the fatherless in their affliction"—visits them to eat down wages and collect rents.

thought and feeling and showing itself in public demonstrations by large and organized bodies of students or of workmen or of both in union, rather than in individual acts of private justice. However much the Terrorists were dreaded by individuals of the court or the bureaucracy, there can be no doubt that the government as a whole is much more afraid and with good reason of the movement in this its latest phase. Especially is this so since the students have thrown off the always rather transparent pretense of allying their protests against academic grievances and have begun frankly to make demonstrations on a large scale against the autocracy, and against capitalism itself and also against the growth of the great industry, the workmen have begun to awaken to a feeling of class unity and defiance against class rule.

How to check the movement has been and is the question for the Whites, the Poles, and the Bolsheviks and their underlings. The most obvious method is that of brute force—shooting, flogging, imprisonment, exile, the gallows. This method of repressing the people's struggle is the one to which they have been using pretty vigorously and consistently and is still, no doubt, the "means of grace" most fervently believed in by the authorities in general.

Attempt to Divide.
Revolutionary Forces.
Some of the officials, however, hold another theory and have been allowed to put it to the test of practice to some extent, and the Odessa affair is the result of the conflict of the two methods. Nowhere but in Russia could the preaching of the class struggle be so seriously proposed as the basis of a reactionary policy; but in Russia strange things happen. Recognizing that the present strength of the revolutionary forces lies in the union in the movement of the wage-workers, impelled by immediate economic interest, with the student body, inspired by humane sentiment and equipped with scientific knowledge, these new-fangled defenders of established institutions argue that the way to weaken the movement is to divide its forces, to alienate the wage-workers, without whose support the revolution can have no real vitality, from the "intelligent"—which is in this case clearly synonymous with the Socialists—who now put their knowledge at its service. They acknowledge that the wage-workers have serious grievances, that from these, and not merely from the evil "incitement" of the Socialists, arises the popular discontent. They therefore advise that the government set on foot a propaganda among the working people, appealing to their class feeling, calling on them to cut loose from the "intelligent" in a word, to build up what we would call a "pure and simple" labor movement, without any aim beyond immediate gains or any guiding rule but expediency—and to promise to such a movement, so long as it keeps within these "safe and practical" limits, a certain measure of governmental recognition and patronage. Thus, it is hoped, the "unlearned discontent" of the masses can be diverted from revolutionary purposes and exhausted in numberless petty efforts, while the "intelligent" thus isolated and weakened, can be held in check by the iron hand of the police.

Failure of the Scheme.
For three or four years this plan has been advocated within the bureaucracy and has gained the assent of such high officials—though not of the highest—that attempts have been made to put it into effect in Moscow, in several cities of the West, and in St. Petersburg. Nowhere has it had an expected success, however, and least of all in the cities where the workers are most numerous and intelligent and where, therefore, the danger it was intended to avert is greatest. Some of

National.

New York State.

New York City.

New Jersey.

was drawn on smaller animals. 100 W. Main St., New York.

WHY SHOULD A WORKINGMAN THINK?

By Wm. H. Loffingwell.

I suppose that is a curious question to ask.

You may be of the opinion that you do think.

But do you?

Perhaps you think about some things, but do you really think about things that are important to your own welfare?

Who is it that builds the houses, factories, streets, railways, street cars, automobiles, furniture? In fact who is it that builds everything? You say the workingmen do it? How do you know that they do all of these things? Oh! You are a workingman. Well, that's the thing you know.

Now, have you a house? Have you an automobile? Have you nice clothes? Have you plenty to eat all the time? And if you haven't enough of all these fine things that you make, why haven't you? I'll bet you don't know.

I've often heard you say: "I have tramped the streets now for several weeks, looking for a job, and no one seems to want me. I am willing to work, but if I do not get a job soon I'll starve. Wife is raising the children. Children are sick. Oh! If I only had a job I'd soon get on my feet."

That was when you didn't have a job, but finally the prosperous days came along and you got a job. You worked every day. Every week you got your pay envelope. Then, were you happy? No. This was your time.

I can't understand it, here I've been working steadily for a year or more, but somehow or other I can't get ahead. I'm getting good wages—much as I ever got—but wife says she cannot make both ends meet. Everything seems to cost about twice as much as it used to. The landlord has raised the rent but the boss won't raise my wages.

And then you joined the union. You talked it over with the boys and decided that you would go on strike. Then you said:

"We'll show those capitalists a few things. We'll just tell them that if they don't raise our wages we won't work for them. We'll strike."

And you struck.

But there were a lot of other fellows there, ready to take your job. You went to them and asked them not to do it.

You said: "See here, men, we've got wives and families to support and we're on strike for higher wages. Don't take our jobs."

But the other fellows replied: "Well, no jobs we got wives. We haven't any jobs at all."

And then you called them a lot of

unpleasant names. The police interfered. They clubbed you. They drove you away from the factory. And when they couldn't find excuse for clubbing you, the judges issued injunctions forbidding you from striking, walking, talking, and in fact keeping you from doing anything that would "aid or abet" striking.

And did you think then? Well, not to any purpose. You said a lot of foolish things about the police, the mayor, the president and the trusts, but did you do anything? Not a thing.

The trouble is, my dear fellow, you don't think.

You say that you know that two plus two makes four.

You also say that you know that there is a working class. That's half of the sum. The other half—well, I'll have to tell you the other half. There is also a capitalist class.

The capitalist class is the class that owns the factories that you work in. Sometimes they allow you to work, but only for one purpose, and that is to produce surplus wealth for them. To make profits—dividends. This capitalist class also owns something else that it needs in order to stay in business—the government. There's the sum.

One "two" is the working class, which produces all the wealth and receives only wages in return. Just enough to barely live upon. The other "two" is the capitalist class, which owns everything (including the government) and lives in luxury off the toil of the workers, but does nothing for them. The result (the sum) is that when you strike for better conditions all the powers of government (which is owned by the capitalists) are used to club you into submission.

Now, can you not think? What is the way out of this difficulty? See if you cannot solve it yourself.

You are in control of the government. "Strike at the ballot-box." Vote yourself and your class into power. Put workmen into office. Control this government to suit yourself.

"Workmen of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain."

Unite. Vote your class into control. Take the wealth which you have created—the capital. Own it. Operate the factories socially as you do now, but make them the collective property of all and not the private property of a few at present.

Unite you do this all your struggles and strikes will be in vain. Unless you learn to reason from cause and effect you must suffer the consequences.

If you like to be clubbed, shot and hanged, all right. But if you don't, then THINK.

POLITICAL NOTICES.

The attention of Social Democratic workers is called to the following notices of political conventions:

MANHATTAN AND BRONX ALDERMANIC CONVENTIONS.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 4.

Conventions of the Social Democratic Party, to nominate candidates for Aldermen, will be held on Friday, Sept. 4, in the following places and districts in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx:

22d, at 230 W. One Hundred and Thirtieth street, residence of Kane.

25th, at 1706 Amsterdam avenue, residence of P. Duran.

44th, at 67 W. One Hundred and Thirtieth street, residence of Hill.

37th, at 61 E. One Hundred and Thirtieth street, residence of Rove.

40th, at 919 E. One Hundred and Sixty-third street, residence of Wisner.

41st, at 619 Morris avenue, shoe store.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 10.

28th, at 1432 Second avenue, hall.

NEW YORK COUNTY ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS.

A convention of the Social Democratic Party of the Twenty-sixth Assembly District to nominate a candidate for member of the Assembly will be held on Thursday evening, Sept. 10, at 1432 Second avenue, hall.

MUNICIPAL COURT JUDICIAL CONVENTIONS.

Conventions of the Social Democratic Party, to nominate candidates for Justices of the Municipal Court for the Twelfth and Thirtieth Districts, will be held on Friday, Sept. 4, 8 p. m., at the following places:

12th Municipal Court District, at Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue.

30th Municipal Court District, at 232 E. Broadway, club rooms.

KINGS COUNTY ASSEMBLY DISTRICT CONVENTIONS.

Conventions of the Social Democratic Party to nominate candidates for members of Assembly will be held on Saturday, Sept. 5, 8 p. m., in all the Assembly Districts in Kings County, in the following places:

1st-121 Schermerhorn street, office of Dr. Furman.

2d-45 Wyckoff street, residence of Schmidt.

3d-131 Inlay street, residence of Meyer.

4th-411 Adelphi street, residence of Passmore.

5th-122 Fort Greene Place, residence of Atkinson.

6th-374 Twelfth street, residence of Cryles.

7th-47 Jewel street, residence of Ruff.

8th-310 Huron street, residence of Clayton.

9th-187 Humboldt street, hall.

10th-187 Humboldt street, hall.

17th-540 Hancock street, residence of Codrington.

18th-1226 Park Place, residence of Droste.

19th-449-455 Willoughby avenue, Labor Lyceum.

20th-257 Hamburg avenue, hall.

21st-475 Glenmore avenue, hall.

BROOKLYN BOROUGH ALDERMANIC CONVENTIONS.

Conventions of the Social Democratic Party to nominate candidates for Aldermen will be held in all the Aldermanic Districts of the Borough of Brooklyn, on Saturday, September 5, in the following places:

1st-121 Schermerhorn street, office of Dr. Furman.

44th-67 DuPont street, residence of Liskie.

47th-95 President street, residence of Weppeler.

48th-440 Morton street, residence of Patterson.

49th-214 Hooper street, residence of Hutcheson.

50th-30 Sumner avenue, hall.

51st-352 Fifty-second street, residence of Souter.

52d-261 Bay Twenty-seventh street, residence of Campbell.

53d-45 Wyckoff street, residence of Schmidt.

54th-131 Inlay street, residence of Meyer.

55th-411 Adelphi street, residence of Passmore.

56th-122 Fort Green Place, residence of Atkinson.

57th-374 Twelfth street, residence of Cryles.

58th-47 Jewel street, residence of Ruff.

59th-310 Huron street, residence of Clayton.

60th-187 Humboldt street, hall.

61st-187 Humboldt street, hall.

62d-540 Hancock street, residence of Codrington.

63d-1226 Park Place, residence of Droste.

64th-449-455 Willoughby avenue, Labor Lyceum.

65th-257 Hamburg avenue, hall.

66th-475 Glenmore avenue, hall.

66th Aldermanic District, on Saturday, Sept. 12, at 63 Myrtle avenue, Evergreen, L. I. school.

60th Aldermanic District, at Muhlenbrink's Turn Hall, College Point, L. I., on Thursday, Sept. 17.

70th Aldermanic District, on Friday, Sept. 18, at Meyer's Congress Hall, Twombly Place and Division street, Jamaica, L. I.

J. GERBER,
Campaign Secretary.

QUEENS COUNTY NOTICES.

A borough meeting of all the members of the Social Democratic Party in Queens County, N. Y., will be held on Saturday, Sept. 12, at 63 Myrtle avenue, Evergreen. Matters of importance to come up for action and it is the duty of every party member to attend and especially those of Local Long Island City.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from 84 page.)

rades of Potter County, Pa., did not prevent three good Socialist meetings in that county and one in an adjoining county. Ben Hanford spoke at Coudersport on Tuesday, Aug. 25, in the Opera House, half filled with enthusiastic workers who came through a heavy rain storm to hear him. He made some telling points in answering arguments presented by the editor of a local Republican paper. The meeting in Port Allegany, McKean County, threatened to be a failure, as the drizzle made prospects for an open-air meeting very doubtful, but the rain ceased about eight o'clock, and with the aid of bass and snare drums a good crowd was gathered, and Comrade Hanford held their full attention, notwithstanding threatening weather, for over an hour. After the meeting a branch was organized, and thus a start has been made in a new field. The meeting in Austin on Sunday afternoon was a complete success, notwithstanding a heavy rain just before the meeting. A social reception was given to Comrade Hanford in the evening, attended by about thirty of the most active comrades and their wives. Refreshments were served and music by Socialist members of the local orchestra, with impromptu addresses by some of the comrades, and a short but extremely interesting and instructive talk by Comrade Hanford made the evening one of the most enjoyable in the history of the Socialist movement in Austin.

Williamsport has taken in three new members and pledges \$1 a month, ward wiping out the debt of the State Committee.

Comrade Newcomb of Pittsburgh writes: "Last Friday evening was an exciting time in Williamsport. The members of the new local there were enjoying a visit from Comrade Taylor of Philadelphia. A very good meeting was in progress when the burgess hurried up to say that the meeting must be discontinued. Then followed a lively few minutes. Comrade Taylor asked for the ordinance which empowered the official to interfere with us. Naturally this was not in evidence. The burgess would certainly have remained in his office if he had foreseen how much his 'dignity' would suffer by his encounter with the Socialists. The speaker simply buried the Constitution at him, and he went away in discomfort. The feeling of the meeting was with Comrade Taylor. The interruptions, however, were not over, for no sooner was the audience once more thoroughly interested in the speech than a fire alarm started everyone, and out rattled the brigade, stationed only a few yards away. The general opinion was that the alarm was false, the only object being to break up the meeting. This proved to be true, but the petty trick signally failed. The people simply stepped to one side and ironically cheered the firemen as they passed. Certainly we must be making great headway even in respectable Williamsport, when the towns officials have to resort to such miserable methods in their endeavor to stay free speech. The meeting continued until a late hour, and the interest was sustained throughout. There was a continual rush of questions, and, indeed, at last Comrade Taylor was obliged to refuse to answer any others, or he would probably have been there still. He is to be with us again next Friday, and we await his visit with interest. It would be impossible to have anyone here better able to carry on a campaign and to increase our membership by educational work than Comrade Taylor, who gives his best energies so heartily to the work."

New England.

Socialism will be in evidence in old New Hampshire on Labor Day. The holiday will be observed at Claremont by appropriate exercises on an elaborate scale and address by Dr. Gibbs of Worcester, Mass., under the direction of Clara A. Local, a Socialist Party. Local Franklin will have a Socialist Labor Day speaker. At Canobie Lake the day will be signified by a three-cornered debate—Republican, Democratic, and Socialist. Leading speakers of the three parties have promised to take part.

Dr. Howard A. Gibbs of Worcester, Mass., delivered a most interesting, scholarly, and forcible address on "Industrial Peace" at the Peace Convention in Mystic, Conn., Thursday afternoon, Aug. 28, treating his subject from the standpoint of the Socialist and speaking to the largest attendance of the conference. Quite a number of Socialist booklets were purchased at the close of his speech. In the evening he spoke to a large crowd on the main street of the town. The Mystic band furnished music. A handsome collection was taken up, new members received, and literature sold.

John Weaver Sherman has an excellent article on Socialism in a recent number of the "Suburban," a weekly paper circulating largely in the outlying districts and environs of Boston. It is an excellent plan for those of our comrades who are able to write for the press to take advantage of the many opportunities that offer for presenting our views through local periodicals of every sort.

The "Evening Record" of Chelsea, Mass., gave prominence to the report of a public meeting of the Socialist

Party of that city, addressed by James De Bell. Comrade De Bell spoke forcibly in denunciation of the Republican and Democratic parties as the two political agencies for maintaining the system of capitalist exploitation of the workers. The "Record" says: "Every remark was greeted with applause and many were the marks of commendation."

State Secretary White of Connecticut acknowledges receipts for the State Organizer Fund, up to Aug. 2, as follows: E. P. Clarke, Mystic, \$1; C. L. Barstow, 50 cents; J. Thoms, Stonington, \$10; Geo. Jackson, Mystic, 25 cents; W. Lofsted, Ltd, \$11.75; Local Hartford, \$20; Br. 4, Rockville, \$4; Clara Packard, New Haven, \$1; Wm. Davis, Derby, \$3; previously acknowledged, \$115.05; total, \$180.45.

New branches have been formed in Putnam and New Haven, and one will soon be organized in New London.

Comrade Brown is again laid up with a severe cold, and was obliged to cancel all of his dates subsequent to Aug. 25. He will not attempt public speaking again until after Labor Day.

Local Bridgeport had two of the most successful meetings ever held there last week. On Monday there was a hall meeting and the hall was packed. The speakers were J. W. Brown and Ed. Fielding. As was to be expected, the results of the work of these two able exponents of Socialism were very gratifying, twenty subscriptions for The Worker being taken and twenty-one applications for membership received, besides disposing of about \$5 worth of literature. On Tuesday night was held the largest open-air meeting ever held in Bridgeport. Comrades Brown and Fielding again being the speakers. More subscriptions for party papers and also more applications for membership were taken, besides selling a large quantity of literature.

Michigan.

Comrade McFarlan of Flint, Mich., writes: "State Organizer Lamb is doing a grand work. He is tireless, energetic, and efficient. We believe that he has found a treasure in Dr. S. A. Knopf, who has been in the state since July 22. Dr. Knopf has been talking Socialism in Muskegon, Muskegon Heights, Grand Rapids, Leland, Lansing, Williamston, Owosso, and Flint. Everywhere he goes the comrades take new heart, and realize that they must be doing something themselves and not waiting for others. He explains to them the necessity of the dues-paying system, and has had remarkable success in rousing enthusiasm for sound organization. In Grand Rapids he reorganized the local and established ward branches, besides organizing a German branch with eleven members. In Leland he organized a local with twenty-six charter members, and in Lansing one with twenty-nine members, seven of whom were women. In Williamston he obtained nine members. He had him in Flint for six lectures, and he brought many new members into our local. At also met with the State Local Quorum and gave us valuable advice. His lectures were model expositions of clear-cut revolutionary Socialism, showing that Socialism stands for the interests of the working class and not of the working class only. The Lansing comrades hope to have Dr. Knopf for the whole month of October. We are sorry to lose him so soon, but he has promised to go to Pennsylvania for September, and we can assure the comrades of that state that they will find the Doctor a deep, forceful, and yet plain teacher."

Wisconsin.

The party branches in Sheboygan held a very enjoyable and successful fair on Aug. 15 and 16. The German village was a pretty feature, and the red-white scene was an impressive reminder of the conditions under which a large number of American proletarians must live. Good music was furnished, and the "Tripple Kiddle-muddle" police caused much amusement. The comrades cleared a large sum, which will go to the benefit of their local press. The Racine picnic on Aug. 16 was successful, netting over one hundred dollars. Three hundred Milwaukee comrades attended, and more would doubtless have been present if the Sheboygan fair occurring on the same day had not divided their attention. The Racine branches have an excellent habit of putting their funds into literature, and a good propaganda will probably be the result of the entertainment.

National Secretary Mally will speak in Sheboygan on Labor Day; Thos. J. Hingerty is to speak the same day in Milwaukee. A. M. Simons to Beloit and Janesville unions. W. R. Gaylord in Watertown. Emil Seidel in Waukesha. E. H. Rosenzweig in Neenah, and other local Socialist speakers in other cities, so that Labor Day in Wisconsin will be what it should always be, a truly Socialist holiday.

Open-air meetings are held weekly in Milwaukee on the South Side, under the auspices of the Fifth and Eighth Ward branches. The most encouraging feature of these meetings is the extensive sale of literature to strangers.

Preparations are being made for an extended tour of Wisconsin by Ben Hanford. All are anxious to hear the famous veteran of New York.

During the past week, applications for charters have been made by two new branches, and a charter has been issued to the new women's branch in Sheboygan.

Ohio News.

A new local has been organized in Adams Township, Lucas County, through the efforts of the Toledo comrades.

August will be a record-breaker in time they can have on Sunday or Monday, Sept. 6 or 7, at Fuehrer's Park. See advertisement on last page.

"The Economic Foundations of Society," by Achille Loria, is a book that will repay careful study. It can be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 164 William street, New York, for \$1.50.

Locals Toledo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Dayton report the continu-

ance of their street agitation meetings with good success. This is in addition to the work of the regular state circuit speakers.

Comrade Arthur Du Pros of Canton is the latest addition to the ranks of the "soap-box" speakers. He is holding forth every week in Canton.

Isaac Cowen, candidate for Governor, will tour Ohio, beginning Oct. 19 and continuing until the election. Terms will be the same as all regular circuit speakers. Elyria, Akron, and Canton have already applied for dates. There are fourteen dates still open.

H. W. Smith will speak in Corning on Labor Day.

The Sixteenth Congressional District is being stirred up in good shape and promises the old party politicians a surprise this fall. This is all caused by the special election in that district.

Licking County Socialists held their convention on Aug. 25 and nominated a full county ticket.

Belmont County Socialists have met and nominated a full county ticket. They have three locals in the county and will make things hustle from now on.

Hanford will speak in Memorial Hall, Toledo, Ohio, on Wednesday, Sept. 9.

Pacific Coast.

Comrade Martin of Olympia, Ore., writes: "We have just had our first street-meeting in this sleepy old town, and it has aroused more sympathy with Socialism than anything that has happened before. Comrade McElair of Tacoma spoke to a large and attentive crowd, much to the annoyance of the Chief of Police. The Chief interrupted him, yelling: 'Cut that out. If you come here again I'll pinch you, see? I'm not a set of damned anarchists run this town.' An interested bystander asked the Chief if this was not a free country and got the reply: 'You shut your damned mouth or I'll pull you.' Venturing to repeat the question, he was roughly handled off to jail and held until we got call. Another, who asked why this man was arrested, was answered with a similarly profane threat of arrest. We intend to keep it up and give the authorities plenty of rope to hang themselves with."

Comrade Brown of San Francisco has been holding good street meetings at San Jose and large quantities of literature were sold. Comrade Woodley has been doing excellent work in San Luis Obispo County.

Here and There.

The Socialists of Newport News, Va., have nominated L. A. Hall for the Senate and A. J. Hauer for the lower house of the Legislature. They are confident of a good increase in the vote. National Organizer Goebel spoke on the streets on Aug. 17 and 20 and on Aug. 21 in Rosenbaum's hall. At all the meetings the crowds were very large and attentive, and the local comrades speak in the highest terms of "Comrade Goebel's" work as a propagandist.

Comrade McGrady will make a tour in the East during the month of December and arrangements have already been made for him to lecture in Barre, Vt., on December 18.

The Western dates for Comrade McGrady will be filled beginning at Omaha, Oct. 9. From there he will lecture at Denver, Leadville, Aspen, Silver, Park City, Vernal, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The return tour will be made through Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and Montana. The dates for the return trip will be held open until Sept. 20 and the route made up at that time. Comrades desiring engagements should write to W. G. Critchlow, 20 Pruden Building, Dayton, Ohio.

On the evenings of Aug. 26 and 27, Comrade John M. Hay of Nashville held street meetings in Knoxville, speaking to large crowds and explaining in a most masterful manner the Socialist principles. Comrade Reed writes: "Being a visitor in the city, I availed myself of an opportunity to hear this earnest man, and I was much impressed with his clear and forcible arguments. There was no interference from authorities, but one thing that I noticed the effect of his speech was the remarks of a number of workingmen themselves who said to their acquaintances as Mr. Hay laid bare the evils of capitalism, 'Why, he is a crank.' 'What he says is impossible.' 'Till workmen cease to ridicule those who are making such sacrifices for their good and go to studying this great subject of Socialism, there is no hope for their betterment.' They are learning, comrades. Never fear."

Comrade Silvio Origo of Springfield, Mass., is open for engagements every Sunday to speak either in English or Italian.

The Socialists of Muscatine County, Iowa, have held a well attended convention and nominated a full ticket. Calhoun County has also nominated. State Organizer Jacobs has spoken this week at Abila, Avery, Oskaola, Sigourney, North English, and Ottumwa. John M. Work, our candidate for Governor, begins his tour of the state on Sept. 8. General activity is reported.

In the current number of the official journal of the Brotherhood of Painters we note an article by R. T. Blinn, a colored member of that organization living in Chicago, in which the insecurity of the worker's life under the present system is discussed and the Socialist remedy for the evil set forth. One more sign of the times.

Tell all your friends of the good time they can have on Sunday or Monday, Sept. 6 or 7, at Fuehrer's Park. See advertisement on last page.

"The Economic Foundations of Society," by Achille Loria, is a book that will repay careful study. It can be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 164 William street, New York, for \$1.50.

Locals Toledo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Dayton report the continu-

THE INDUSTRIAL HELL.

By S. B. Early.

Some of the department stores have reached the acme of perfection in child-slavery by employing small girls to act as cash and bundle clerks. For many years past, boys, ranging from ten to fifteen years of age, have been employed in this capacity, but the modern up-to-date establishments and boys too expensive and have substituted girls.

Last week I had occasion to go through one of these institutions, and, although accustomed as we have become to the employment of child labor, one cannot view with indifference the sight of this small army of female slaves, and despise a system that permits a soulless corporation to tear away from the mother's breast these innocent babies, and place them in the capitalist mill of slavery, there to grind out their young life's blood on the altars of profits.

Clad in a regulation uniform of red, with a brass tag on the shoulder, these child slaves, who are known only by the number on their check, toll through the long days, running hither and thither in obedience to the sharp commands of the overmen, carrying cups and bundles in many cases larger than the tots themselves. As I looked on their pale, care-worn faces, from which the animated look of health and happy youth had flown forever, I was reminded of the fact that these children, reared prematurely old, and with their vital powers sapped in this industrial hell, would be expected to become the mothers of the next generation.

Yes, the masters of the bread belt us that girls are cheaper than boys, for boys are needed in the shop to operate the machine which takes the place of men; boys are needed to shine the shoes of the master class, and in other ways to assist in supporting the working class home, for the father is displaced by the machine and is among the ever increasing army of the unemployed. And so the baby girl is taken from the home and mother's care, and entered in the struggle for bread.

Imagine, if you can, the dreary life led by these child workers, who month after month, and year after year, perform their never ending task and then ask yourself if it is surprising that after a few years of this handicapped strife, these girls are forced to suicide or a life of shame. Any protest on the part of working girls, that their meagre wage is not sufficient for food, shelter and clothing, brings the same capitalist response as given by a Chicago dry goods king to his female employees, who upon asking for wages sufficient to enable them to live received this reply: "Why, girls, you are all fair looking; why don't you seek a gentleman friend?"

Go and ask the thousands of young women on the streets why they are there, and they will tell you they have simply followed the advice of the capitalist masters, and bartered their honor for bread. Look at the daily press, teeming with suicidal records, and the silent Potter's Field, mornly bearing testimony to those who, rather than face the struggle longer, have chosen the bullet or the poison draught.

These are the conditions facing the young toilers of to-day. Told by the masters that honor and virtue are commodities to be bought and sold, told year after year, yet deprived of the common necessities of life, without a single ray of hope, is it to be expected that the unhappy victims of commercial strife will ultimately end the struggle by a few brief months of dissipation, or bring the grim tragedy of life to a close by suicide? Think of this, you fathers. Is it for this purpose that you bring up your children? Is your paternal love so dwarfed that you permit the master class to place you on the level of the horse and cow and rear your young for profit? Has your manhood and reason of morals right become so seared by the conditions of commercial servitude, that you are willing to perpetuate this system of wage-slavery?

But the master class must have profits, you think? Yes, the idlers must have palaces, while the toilers live in hovels; the rich must have all the pleasures and comforts that labor can produce, and spend their useless lives in idle wantonness and gluttony, while the toilers pour out their very life blood at their masters' feet.

But the star of hope is rising through the gloom. We bear the march of thousands of brave, determined men who cry aloud against this infamous system which makes men fends and coins the soul and sinew of the nation into profits. And as this fast increasing band of revolutionaries registers their protest at the ballot-box, we see the banner of Industrial Freedom floating over a nation of happy and contented people, secure in the possession of their rights and the full product of their toil, while in the receding darkness of the industrial hell we see capitalism, ignorance, and slavery cowering into the dark caverns of oblivion.

THE CURSE OF CHILD AND FEMALE LABOR.

Chief Factory Inspector Edgar T. Davis of Illinois, writing in the "Woodworker" on child labor in that state, gives a statistical table classifying the employees in nearly twenty thousand mills, factories, and workshops in about fifty specified industries. Out of a total of 612,000 persons employed, 90,000 were women, over 7,000 were girls under sixteen, and nearly 12,000 were boys under that age. In word, nearly one-fourth of the total number employed belonged to one or the other of these categories, none of whom, if the interests of humanity instead of the requirements of capitalist profit were to be consulted, ought to be found in the industrial barracks or dangerous known as mills and factories. In many other states the proportion is even larger.

Socialism, by giving the worker the value of his product now appropriated by the capitalist, would enable the men to maintain pleasant homes and set the women free for the domestic and social and educational duties which at least ninety-nine out of every hundred normal women would prefer; and it would take these boys and girls away from the shops and place them in the home, the school, the college, and the

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The Worker

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Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.—NO. 24.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 13, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

TUBERCULOSIS AND POLITICS.

A Question of Life and Death—"Science Points Out the Remedy with Unerring Finger, but Vested Interests Cry No!"

Many papers all over the country are reprinting the following paragraph from an article in the "Times-Bee" of Toledo:

"Consumption is an unnecessary ailment. We live in a vitiated air at home. We breathe foul, dirty, poisoned air abroad and the bacillus attacks us in our weakened state. We can prevent almost any disease, though there are few that we can completely cure. We have learned to avoid the sanitary sins of our ancestors, but we have not yet corrected the habit of dying from disease, accident, and overwork."

We take this paragraph as a text for some remarks on the question of consumption or tuberculosis in our great cities—a question literally of life-and-death importance to the working class. The "habit" of dying from tuberculosis is a fearful prevalent one in the tenement houses. If we speak here with particular reference to the tenement-dwellers of New York City, the reader may bear in mind that our words apply with almost equal force to Boston and Philadelphia and Baltimore, to Chicago and St. Louis and San Francisco, or even to much smaller cities. Of the workmen's "habit" from tuberculosis, and from overwork, we shall speak at another time. The three "habits" have all one cause—capitalist profit.

You know, fellow tenement-dwellers, fellow wage-workers, what tuberculosis means. You who read have seen dear friends, perhaps a brother or a wife or a child, struggle bravely through months and even years, only to fall before that dread disease. Perhaps you who read already have its germs in your own lungs and already foresee your doom. At least you are aware that the danger encompasses you on every hand and that you know no way to guard against it.

Forty Thousand Victims.

Dr. Ernst J. Lederle, Commissioner of Health, has informed The Worker that the records of his office show that there are between thirty and forty thousand known consumptives at this moment in this one city. It may safely be assumed that there are as many more whose condition has not yet attracted the attention of physicians. But let us stick to the figures as they stand. Do you realize what this means? They mean that to every hundred people—men, women, and children—in this city, there is at least one known consumptive. It means that TO EVERY TENEMENT HOUSE THERE IS A CONSUMPTIVE. Doomed to a lingering death and, worse yet, A CERTAIN SPREADING INFECTION TO HIS FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

Every physician who practices in the crowded districts will tell you that consumption is increasing at a fearful rate and that he can hope no more for his patients than to alleviate their suffering a little and to extend a little their wretched lease of life.

A Tenement Disease.

In 1901 the Tenement House Commission heard the testimony of several eminent physicians who have carefully studied this disease and are qualified to speak with authority. ALL AGREED IN SAYING THAT CONSUMPTION IN THIS CITY ORIGINATES ALMOST WHOLLY IN THE TENEMENTS. THE DISEASE IS THE RESULT OF OVERCROWDING AND BAD SANITARY CONDITIONS.

Dr. John H. Pryor said: "There is at least one case of consumption in almost every tenement house of the city, the reason being that THE TENANTS ARE SO CROWDED TOGETHER, WITHOUT SUFFICIENT AIR OR SUNLIGHT. While consumption is a hereditary and curable in its early stages, the death-rate of its victims does not decrease." His estimate of the number of consumptives in the city at that time—two years ago—was "over twenty thousand."

Dr. Herman M. Briggs, in charge of the pathological and bacteriological laboratories of the Board of Health, exhibited maps showing the tenement districts in which consumption is most prevalent. "In one block on Cherry street, with a population of one thousand, 144 died of this disease in four years. In one block on Pell street, out of a population of two thousand, 318 died of consumption in the same period."

Dr. Briggs explained that the disease is transmitted only by germs contained in the expectorations of the sufferers. If the air is fresh and there is plenty of sunlight, these germs quickly die; in the close, damp, dark rooms of the tenements they multiply and spread the infection.

Dr. Frankel, manager of the United Hebrew Charities, said that of the consumptives of foreign birth who applied to him for help the great majority had contracted the disease in this country. In this city, in the tenement houses.

A Question for You.

There are the facts for you: The number of consumptives and the death-rate from consumption are steadily and rapidly increasing; The disease exists chiefly and originates almost wholly in the tenement-houses; Practically the whole working class of the city is daily exposed to infection in the tenements, in the workshops, and in the streets. YOUR friends and neighbors are suffering; YOU and YOUR FAMILY are in danger. What are YOU going to do?

Maybe you think this is not a political question. Maybe you think, too,

that it is a question that only the doctors are competent to deal with and that laymen should leave alone.

If so, you are mistaken.

The doctors will tell you that they are powerless, by themselves, before this greatest pestilence of modern times. What does the doctor prescribe to the tuberculous patient? Medicine? Yes, some medicine. But he frankly says that medicine alone will do no good. In order that his medicines may do any good, he tells you, you must live and work and sleep in rooms with direct sunlight, plenty of fresh air, free from dust vapors and irritating dust, and you must have rest and outdoor exercise and plenty of good nourishing food. If you have these things you are in very little danger from tuberculosis infection; without these things, the wisest physicians in the world can hardly hope to cure you, once you are infected.

So you see, the prevention and cure of tuberculosis is primarily not a question of medicine, but a question of sanitation; it is not drugs that we need, but BETTER LIGHTED AND BETTER VENTILATED DWELLINGS AND PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT. SHORTER HOURS OF WORK. IN OTHER WORDS, WE MAY HAVE MORE TIME TO GO TO THE PARKS OR THE BEACHES, AND MORE PAY FOR OUR WORK IN ORDER THAT WE MAY GET BETTER FOOD THE YEAR 'ROUND AND GET A COMFORTABLE VACATION IN THE COUNTRY EVERY SUMMER.

The doctors cannot provide these things for you. But you can get them there, where the people themselves cannot overcome. Science points out the remedy with unerring finger, but the "Reform" administration dare not move in that direction because Vested Interests cry No!

Dividends vs. Health.
Your employers want to get all possible profit out of you from day to day. If you are used up and worn out in a few years, it does not matter, for there will be plenty of younger toilers to take your places. Therefore they insist on your working long hours and working at the highest possible speed, leaving you neither leisure nor strength for outdoor exercise and recreation. They keep your wages down as low as they can and at the same time they raise the prices of the things you have to buy, so that you find it impossible to provide proper food and clothing for yourselves and your families. Your employers save expense and so increase their profits by crowding as many as possible of you into small, unventilated, dirty little rooms, filled with dust and foul odors. All these conditions sap your vitality and render you an easy prey to disease. The poverty which you have to endure in order to make profit for them forces you to send your children into the workshops, too, so that in their tender years their constitutions are undermined and the way opened for disease.

Thus the DAILY INTEREST OF THE EMPLOYERS is the system that gives them a profit on your labor, REQUIRES CONDITIONS THAT FOSTER TUBERCULOSIS and other diseases among you.

Rent-Roll vs. Health.
Your landlords' interest works in the same way. Your landlord wants to get as many tenants upon a given piece of land as he can. Space for light wells is wasted space in his eyes. The higher his tenements, the smaller the light wells, the fewer the windows, the narrower and darker the halls and stairways, the more contracted the rooms, the bigger grows his rent-roll in proportion to his expenses. It is a cold business proposition with him, a question of health. Your health weighs for nothing against his bank account. He does not have to live in those uncomfortable, dangerous, disease-breeding holes. The more uncomfortable, dangerous, and unhealthy they are, the pleasanter his Fifth Avenue mansion and his country villa. If you die of consumption, there are other tenants to take your place, and he will cheerfully add a dollar to the rent when they move in.

Thus the DAILY INTEREST OF THE LANDLORDS is the system that makes you pay tribute to them for permission to live on the earth. REQUIRES CONDITIONS THAT FOSTER TUBERCULOSIS and other diseases among you.

These landlords and employers are the "eminent citizens" of our metropolis. Some of them are high in the councils of Tammany Hall. Others shine in the ranks of so-called Reform. They capsize the candidates both of the old parties, as well as the hybrid coalition that is now in office. It upholds the Democratic, the Republican, and the "Reform" campaign funds, dictates their nominations and appointments, and directs their policy.

Your lives are in danger. Science points the way to safety with unerring finger, but the Vested Interests of employers and landlords say No! and the CAPITALIST PARTIES OBEY.

The Only Hope.

One party and one alone is free from their control. The Socialist Democratic Party—the New York division of the

FOR THE DAILY.

ITALIANS DON'T

LIKE S. L. P.

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Total amount pledged to date, \$7,754.50.

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R. R. Rice, Houston, Tex. \$1.00
Alex. Fraser, Brooklyn. 10.00
M. Leibel, City. 1.00
L. Green, City. 1.00
Swinson, Brooklyn. 25
Happel, Brooklyn. 25
Roelandsman, Brooklyn. 25
Chas. Kischer, Glendale. 25
Aug. Thomas, Glendale. 50
W. G. Smith, Glendale. 50
Ady. Pless, Glendale. 25
Henry Spill, Glendale. 25
M. T. Bartholomew, City. 1.00
Meiser, Newark. 2.00
Green, Newark. 9
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Previously acknowledged. 3,140.75

Total \$4,895.25

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E. A. Brenholz, Turnersville, Texas. 2.50
Rush, Brooklyn. 50
Punch Card 12, N. Y. 75
Punch Card 137, N. Y. 1.00
Punch Card 112, N. Y. 35.00
Chas. Letters. 2.00
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Chas. Juhan, Allegheny, Pa. 2.00
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Happel, Brooklyn. 25
Roelandsman, Brooklyn. 25
Chas. Kischer, Glendale. 25
Aug. Thomas, Glendale. 50
W. G. Smith, Glendale. 50
Ady. Pless, Glendale. 25
Henry Spill, Glendale. 25
M. T. Bartholomew, City. 1.00
Meiser, Newark. 2.00
Green, Newark. 9
Swinson, Brooklyn. 25
Happel, Brooklyn. 25
M. Princer, City. 2.00
R. Beck, City. 1.00
Previously acknowledged. 3,140.75

Total \$4,895.25

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

W. G. City. 5.00
Jas. C. Cunningham, City. 4.00
D. P. Troy, N. Y. 4.00
Turavrin Vorwaerts, Wilkin. 5.00
E. A. Brenholz, Turnersville, Texas. 2.50
Rush, Brooklyn. 50
Punch Card 12, N. Y. 75
Punch Card 137, N. Y. 1.00
Punch Card 112, N. Y. 35.00
Chas. Letters. 2.00
Abraham Bernard, Bklyn. 2.00
Chas. Juhan, Allegheny, Pa. 2.00
M. Newman, City. 25
J. O. City. 25
E. Tausig, City. 50
Anthony Laundry, City. 1.00
M. Seidel, City. 1.00
J. Gayek, City. 1.00
Henry Bluth, Patchogue, L. I. 5.00
H. Tannenbaum, City. 25
T. H. Bernstein, City. 25
Blustein, City. 25
Profits Brooklyn Concert. 5.00
W. S. & D. B. Fund, Br. 54, Stapleton, S. I. 15.00
Punch Card 529, Paterson, N. J. 8.00
Punch Card 525, Paterson, N. J. 8.00
Punch Card 537, Paterson, N. J. 5.00
Beer Drivers' Union 24, Bklyn. 25.00
Previously acknowledged. 1,750.11

Total contributions. \$1,895.11

—Every Socialist who has not already done so should read Liebknecht's pamphlet, "No Compromise. No Political Trading." Written with special reference to the appearance of certain fusionist tendencies in Germany, its arguments apply with equal force to the movement in the United States. It can be had of the Socialist Literature Company, 194 William street, New York City. Price, 10 cents.

—The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

FOR THE DAILY.

A Call to Renewed Effort—This Fall.

Progress of the Fund for the Publication of a Socialist and Trade Union Daily Newspaper.

During the summer the work for the Daily Globe has been almost at a standstill, but as the heated term is about over, comrades are urged to take up the work again with renewed vigor. A daily Socialist and trade union newspaper is an immediate necessity to the movement. The growth of the party has created an imperative need for a daily organ. And a newspaper uncompromisingly voicing the interests of the working class and telling the truth every day about the machinations of capital will be a welcome reinforcement to the trade unions, now being attacked from every side by the manifold forces of capitalism.

The publication of the Daily Globe is therefore of greatest importance to the cause and every worker who reads this should resolve to strain every effort to the end that the paper can be published in time for the national campaign of 1904 to show the working class its true position in society and the way out of wage slavery into real freedom under the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Workmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, which will publish the paper, now has over \$12,000 cash in bank and about \$4,000 pledged, but as at least \$50,000 is needed in order to start without fear of failure there is still a large sum to be collected.

Sympathizers who do not feel able to do more are reminded of the article which appeared in The Worker of August 2 calling upon all trade unionists and sympathizers to contribute a quarter each to the fund. If this appeal is heeded by every unionist the fund can be raised in short order.

Comrades should also use the punch card method of collection wherever they go, sending in the cards with money as soon as they are filled.

The committee also issued a chain letter several weeks ago, requesting all who receive one to help by following instructions given therein as failure to do so will break the chain and hamper the work.

Comrades everywhere should remember that whether they live in New York or on the Pacific Coast the Daily Globe project is their project and should have the support of Socialists throughout the country. Let all renewed activity in the work with the determination to raise the rest of the fund before next summer.

The New York Daily Globe Conference meets Thursday, Sept. 10, at 91 East Fourth street and all delegates are urged to attend promptly.

NEW PLEDGES.
Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Branch 54, of Stapleton, N. Y., in addition to the contribution of \$15 acknowledged in this list, also pledged another \$10 to be paid later.

Let all labor organizations in Greater New York do likewise and we will have enough money to start an up-to-date daily newspaper at once.

Total amount pledged to date, \$7,754.50.

PAID ON PLEDGES.

R. R. Rice, Houston, Tex. \$1.00
Alex. Fraser, Brooklyn. 10.00
M. Leibel, City. 1.00
L. Green, City. 1.00
Swinson, Brooklyn. 25
Happel, Brooklyn. 25
Roelandsman, Brooklyn. 25
Chas. Kischer, Glendale. 25
Aug. Thomas, Glendale. 50
W. G. Smith, Glendale. 50
Ady. Pless, Glendale. 25
Henry Spill, Glendale. 25
M. T. Bartholomew, City. 1.00
Meiser, Newark. 2.00
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E. Tausig, City. 50
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FOR THE DAILY.

A Call to Renewed Effort—This Fall.

Progress of the Fund for the Publication of a Socialist and Trade Union Daily Newspaper.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

[Note.—In New York and Wisconsin this party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party. The party continues in New York is the Arm and Torch.]

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.
The following resolution was adopted, along with the foregoing platform, by the National Convention of Indianapolis, July, 1901:

The trade-union movement and independent

Formerly the tools of production were owned and used by the individual worker. Today, however, they have been concentrated and monopolized and developed to produce enormous quantities of goods for the benefit of the few capitalists and to the detriment of the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep it from the workers.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the present state of things. It is the cause of the poverty and misery of the working classes, of the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, of the wage-workers, the once-powerful united class is rapidly becoming a class of slaves.

The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of production and distribution enables the capitalist to control the government, the courts, the schools, and enable them to oppress the workers.

The state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political and economic slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class are in direct antagonism to the interests of the working class are exclusively for the profit, wars are fomented between nations, the working class is encouraged and the destruction of whole nations.

The two following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its annual meeting at St. Louis, January, 1900:

RELATIONS OF PARTY AND UNIONS.

The workers can meet effectively not as a

While we declare that the development of

economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism lies therefore upon the shoulders of the proletarian vanguard. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to the economic struggles of the working class, that it derives on the Socialist Party to fight the political battles of the working class, and that concentrated labor action will be best conducted by allowing each of the movements to manage the affairs within its own sphere of activity without active interference by the other. The Socialist Party will continue to give

to political officers, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of

such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalists, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order

2. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered and supervised by the State.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

ing in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

SOCIALIST MEMBERS OF THE REICHSTAG

The Socialist Literature Company is prepared to furnish the Portraits of the Eighty-one Social Democratic Members of the German Reichstag, well printed on good paper, a large sheet suitable for framing, at 25 cents a copy. Hang one in your Parlor. If your local maintains head-

Socialist Literature Co.,

184 William Street, New York City.

Special Notice.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries
 (and OTHERS)

LOCAL STAPLETON, S. D. P., a
 Special Meeting will be held on
 Friday, Sept. 18th, 8 p. m., at the
 Lyceum.

Ch. Le Grand.

We confess that our sympathies are rather mixed in the matter of the "near East" (as it is the fashion to call it to-day). We all know what is the main aim of the Macedonian insurgents, namely, to liberate from the

gents, namely, liberation from the Turkish power, and furthermore we know what this liberation would bring in its train. With Western conditions of government would come Western conditions of economic development—

The ubiquitous railway extension, new towns with their cosmopolitan life, new mixing enterprises, and on the top of all the factory with its tall chimney. These blessings of modern capitalist civilization would inevitably follow in

The wake of the destruction of the old semi-paternal political dependence. Autonomy would not keep them away for long, even if autonomy were secured, a contingency scarcely to be expected with Russia and Austria on the

look-out for Balkan spoil. The Italian States generally, like Armenia, are inhabited by an almost purely peasant population. Economically, as a rule, these peasants are well-to-do and often even prosperous. The one evil that

—Every Socialist who has not already done so should read Liebknecht's pamphlet, "No Compromise, No Political Trading." Written with especial

If he thinks that exchanging the latter for the former will make him happier, not many years, we fear, will bring about his disillusionment. The four great obstacles, to-day, to modern capitalist expansion are China, Persia, India and Africa. The first three are the theatre of the imperialist rivalries of the great powers, and the last is the theatre of the imperialist rivalries of the great powers. The first three are the theatre of the imperialist rivalries of the great powers, and the last is the theatre of the imperialist rivalries of the great powers. The first three are the theatre of the imperialist rivalries of the great powers, and the last is the theatre of the imperialist rivalries of the great powers.

Turkey, and Morocco. Were these empires opened up to the market-hunter and the industrial exploiter, there would no longer be any stumbling-block to the absorption of the rest of the barbaric races in the maelstrom of New York City. Price, 10 cents.

—For information about the Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) in New York address the State Secretary, Henry L. Mobodin, 60 Second Avenue, Room 3, New York City.

modern commerce, industry, and finance. It is this consideration which, we are convinced, animates some at least of the indignation so liberally poured out upon the Turk. The "anti-Turk" capitalist is not to be trusted.

further than you can see him. York, for \$122. : OX.

National

The National Organizers.

John M. Hay was suddenly called home by sickness in his family when he left N. C. on Sept. 12, and Com. C. B. F. of Washington, D. C., was called into service to fill Hay's duties in North Carolina.

William A. Toole of Baltimore will work out a two weeks' vacation for the national party, organizing in Maryland.

George H. Gobel will enter Texas on Sept. 25 and work in the northern district, under the direction of Local Dallas, which is the railroad and trolley centre of that section.

George H. Birelow will finish his Texas tour Oct. 3 at Odessa, and af-

New York State.

Yonkers comrades are holding good meetings with speakers from New York and New Jersey. On Friday evening, Sept. 25, John Spargo will speak, and on Saturday, Sept. 26, Frederick Kraft will be the speaker. Both meetings will be held on Getty Square. Flowering comrades are expected to have complete ward tickets up in all the twenty wards of the city for the first time in the history of the local movement. New members are being gained at the rate of ten to fifteen a week. Thomas J. Hagerly will speak at Fitzhugh Hall, on Saturday evening, Sept. 25. John Spargo will speak at headquarters on Monday evening, Sept. 28; at Friedle's Pavilion, Clinton avenue, near Avenue D, with Frank A. Steverman, on Thursday evening, Oct. 1; at Golden Hall on Lowell street, and at Feltz Hall, Chatham street, corner Kelly, on Tuesday evening, Oct. 2; and at Hauker's Hall, on Chilton street, with F. A. Steverman, on Saturday evening, Oct. 3. The series of Sunday lectures of the Labor Lyceum will be opened at Common Council, City Hall, on Oct. 4, probably with Comrade Steverman. The following resolutions and caucuses resulted in the following nominations: For Supervisor, Wm. Drexler; Alderman, Wm. Lippelt; Constable, Wm. Frank. John Frank was nominated for Assemblyman in the 3d A. D. and a club was organized with twenty members. A Northwest branch was organized with twenty members. A manipulative members, and will meet every Tuesday evening at Wollenhaupt Hall, 205 Ames street.

committee the holding of a general party meeting on Oct. 3 to discuss matters pertaining to campaign and organization. A motion was carried to instruct the Campaign Secretary that open-air meetings should be arranged through the Agitation District Committees and that assembly districts that had withdrawn from their Agitation District organizations or do not wish to join them should not be recognised by the Campaign Secretary. The financial report for the week, beginning Sept. 10, was: Balance on hand, \$10.00; receipts, \$65.58; income from dues, \$34.15; new members, \$1.40; literature, \$7.40; sundries, \$1.50; total income, \$119.01; expenditures, \$38.83; balance on hand, \$77.18.

At the last meeting of the 6th and 10th A. D. Conrad Schumler

The First Agitation District has arranged the following indoor meetings: Sunday, Oct. 4, 10th A. D., at Lafayette Hall, 8-10 Avenue D; Thursday, Oct. 8, 4th A. D., at Pythagoras Hall, 77 B. Broadway. Large indoor meetings will be held in each district belonging to this division.

The outing of the comrades of

(Continued on page 4)

By Wm. R. Fox.

The traffickers are an immense horde—dealers, carriers, bankers, brokers, insurance men—those who sell, ship or speculate—vendors of product, passage and information and the

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ETC. at the lowest prices.

"BIG BUSINESS"

The above principles are invited to discuss their views at length with the following:

JACQUES STALLI, Financial Secretary, 13 Third Avenue, Room 5, New York City

Workers' New Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the National Executive Committee is: WILLIAM SCHWARZ, Bldg. 60, 184 William St., New York.


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110 Blocker St., near Grasso St.
NEW YORK.



Company, 124 William Street, New York.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

IN NEW YORK

Open air agitation meetings will be held in Greater New York under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party or auxiliary organizations as below. All meetings will begin at 8 p. m. Speakers and platform committees should be on time and not make each other wait. Speakers having more than one engagement in the same evening should report at that one of their meetings which appears first on this list and follow their meetings up in the order given here. Platform committees are reminded not to forget to bring banners and leaflets.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 24.

Nineteenth street and Tenth avenue, 7th A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Josephson.
Thirtieth street and Eighth avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Furman.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 25.

Divulgence and Willet streets, 12th A. D. Speakers: Fink, Bernstein and Harris.
Seventy-fifth street and Second avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Rosen and Mayes.

Eighty-second street and Avenue A, 28th A. D. Speakers: Frost and Lennon.
Eighty-fifth street and Avenue A, 30th A. D. Speakers: Wright, Lee and Sackin.

100th street and Third avenue, 32d A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Match.
Fortieth street and Eighth avenue, 13th A. D. Speakers: Fink and others.

Avenue C and Sixth street, 16th A. D. Speakers: Reich, Harris, and Korn.
Saturday, Sept. 26.

Twenty-sixth street and Second avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Abrahamson and Goldfarb.
145th street and Amsterdam avenue, 23d A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Lennon.

125th street and Seventh avenue, 21st A. D. Speakers: Harris, Matchett, and Furman.
125th street, between Third and Lexington avenues, 34th A. D. Speakers: Nicholson and Lee.

Alexander and Third avenues, 35th A. D. Speakers: Cassidy and Rosen.
Governor and Madison streets, Speakers: Edelstein, Babin, and Harris.

Monday, Sept. 23.
Third street and Second avenue, 10th A. D. Speakers: Cassidy and Nicholson.

Ninth street and Avenue C, 14th A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Lennon.
11th and East Broadway, 4th A. D. Speakers: Mayes, Bernstein and others.

Thirtieth street and Third avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Abrahamson and Lennon.
Forty-first street and Third avenue, 22d A. D. Speakers: Wright, Harris and Hoover.

Fifty-ninth street and First avenue, 24th A. D. Speakers: Goldfarb, Furman and Matchett.
Hudson and Houston streets, 10th A. D. Speakers: Havdick, Bing, Reich and Korn.

The Lucan will speak in Italian in the 1st-5d-5th A. D.
Tuesday, Sept. 23.

Hudson and Canal streets, 1st A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Frost.
Sixteenth street and Eighth avenue, 7th A. D. Speakers: Rosen and Phillips.

100th street and First avenue, 32d A. D. Speakers: De Luca, in Italian.
Wednesday, Sept. 24.

Christopher and Bleeker streets, 5th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Wright.
Twenty-seventh street and Eighth avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Oswald and Abrahamson.

120th street and Seventh avenue, 21st A. D. Speakers: Nicholson and Goldstein.
130th street and Fifth avenue, 31th A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Reich.

145th street and Third avenue, 23d A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Lee.
De Luca will speak in Italian in the 1st-5d-5th A. D.

Thursday, Oct. 1.
Fifty-second street and Tenth avenue, 15th A. D. Speakers: Josephson, Furman and Matchett.

Sixty-seventh street and Amsterdam avenue, 18th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Frost.
145th street and Eighth avenue, 23d A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Lee.

De Luca will speak in Italian in the 1st-5d-5th A. D.
Friday, Oct. 2.

Seventy-second street and First avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Rosen, Furman and Matchett.
Seventy-seventh street and Avenue A, 28th A. D. Speakers: Lennon and Phillips.

Eighty-fifth street and First avenue, 30th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Lee.
Ninety-fifth street and Second avenue, 32d A. D. Speakers: Frost and Wright.

De Luca will speak in Italian in the 14th A. D.
Saturday, Oct. 3.

Thirtieth street and Tenth avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Kearn and Nicholson.
Forty-first street and Tenth avenue, 13th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and others.

Twenty-fourth street and First avenue, 18th A. D. Speakers: Harris and Lennon.
125th street and Seventh avenue, 21st A. D. Speakers: Cassidy and Lee.

144th street and Alexander avenue, 34th A. D. Speakers: Rosen and Phillips.
Wendover and Third avenues, 35th A. D. Speakers: Frost and Abrahamson.

Thursday, Sept. 24.
206 Columbia street, 1st A. D. Speakers: Streeter, Fink, and Droste.

Friday, Sept. 25.
Union avenue and South First street, 15th A. D. Speakers: Weiss and Droste.

Atlantic avenue and Nevins street, Smith and Dean streets.
Herald Hall, Greenwood avenue and Vanderbilt street, 6th A. D. Speakers: Adams, Droste, Knapp, and Fink.

Saturday, Sept. 26.
Court and Remen streets.
Washington and Johnson streets.

Frank and France, List 2100... 2.00
P. E. Martin, List 2101... 2.00

Irish-American, List 2102... 2.00
Irish-American, List 2103... 2.00

Irish-American, List 2104... 2.00
Irish-American, List 2105... 2.00

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CHASE AGAIN HEADS TICKET.

Massachusetts Socialists Make Nominations.

Largest and Most Satisfactory Convention in the Party's History—To Be Followed by Its Most Vigorous State Campaign.

HORTON, Mass., Sept. 28.—The largest and most satisfactory state convention in the history of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts was held in John Memorial Hall today. One hundred and fifty delegates were in attendance—among them half a dozen women—and every part of the state was represented. Many interested visitors witnessed the proceedings and the general feeling is that the convention opens the best campaign the old Bay State has ever seen. Comrades are not predicting how many thousands of votes they are going to add to the thirty-four thousand cast for the state ticket last fall nor how greatly the Socialist delegation in the Legislature is going to be increased. They are doing better than predict. Feeling the growth of Socialist thought and feeling in all quarters and rejoicing in the sturdy organization and harmonious condition of the party, they are pitching into the work of the campaign with untroubled vigor.

A Strong Ticket.

John C. Chase of Haverhill, the first Socialist ever elected as Mayor in an American city, once more heads our ticket. John Quincy Adams of Amesbury is again the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. The other candidates are: For Secretary of State, Oldham of Worcester; for Treasurer, John A. Billings of Rockhill; for Auditor, Joseph Orr of Chelmsford; for Attorney-General, William J. Carroll of Lowell. It is a strong and representative ticket, composed of men of marked ability who have amply proven their ability to working-class interests.

Corey Presides.

Representative James P. Carey of Haverhill, Chairman of the State Committee, called the convention to order at 11 o'clock. Samuel Ebenbach of Springfield was elected temporary chairman, and John Weaver Sherman of Boston temporary secretary. The permanent officers were: Chairman, Representative Carey; Vice-Chairman, David F. Fisher of Hingham; Secretary, Aquin E. Putney of Somerville; Secretary of the State Committee, the committee were: On platform, George Willis Cooke of Wakefield, Patrick Mahoney of Boston, G. E. Littlefield of Westwood, H. S. Brooks of Springfield, James DeBell of Boston; on resolutions, George H. Wrenn of Burlington, J. W. Skinner of Salem, Mayor Parkman B. Hensley of Haverhill, Joseph Spier of Boston, and Representative W. C. Langdon of Brockton.

While the votes for committee members were being counted, Ex-Mayor Chase of Haverhill and Dr. Adams of Amesbury, the candidates last year and this for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, respectively, made short speeches. Comrade Chase told something of his experience and observations during his extended tour in the South and West and assured the delegates that all over the country there were tens of thousands of thinking workmen taking inspiration from the brilliant successes of the Socialists of Massachusetts and laboring to emulate and support them in the great task of the emancipation of the working class and of humanity from the bondage of the profit system.

Only Good Feeling Manifested.

The convention was distinguished from those so familiar in the old parties by the absence of wire-pulling and back-biting, by frankness in discussion and harmony of feeling, and by the obvious desire of every delegate, not to get personal advantage or recognition, but to contribute to the common success.

A sad but proud memory tempered the spirit of cheerful confidence, as shown in the adoption by rising vote of a resolution in honor of our late comrade, Frederick O. McCartney, whose wisdom and devotion had been so much in evidence in previous gatherings of the sort.

Votes Must Be Counted.

Among the important resolutions adopted was one expressing the convention's opinion that the least doubt of the correctness of the count in any election district should be regarded as a sufficient reason for demanding a recount, since the law does not give the party representation among the precinct officers. The comrades do not propose to leave it in the power of the party politicians to nullify the workmen's votes by reporting them as "spoils" or by positively miscounting them, as was attempted in Haverhill last year.

Socialist State Platform.

Following is the platform upon which, in conjunction with the national platform, the campaign will be waged: "The Socialist Party of Massachusetts, in convention assembled, renounces its allegiance to the principles of international socialism, and declares its adherence to the principles and platform of the Socialist Party as set forth at the national convention at Indianapolis.

"The economic development has revolutionized the methods of production and is separating society into two distinct classes, a comparatively small class,

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Preparations Making for Great Campaign in 1904.

National Secretary Mally Submits an Account of Work Being Done and of Plans on Foot for Perfecting Organization Over the Whole Land.

[The following is a statement by National Secretary Mally, giving an outline of what the national organization of the Socialist Party is doing and what it intends to do:]

The contribution of one thousand "Stars by Comrade Wayland" to the National Organizing Fund comes in good season. It comes at a time when most comrades and when it can be put to the best use for the Socialist Party, which is the concrete expression of the Socialist movement in America.

While it is no exaggeration to say that the organizing work carried on by the national Socialist Party during the past eight months has exceeded that performed in any similar length of time before, yet even this was not all that was needed or desired to be done. It comes at a time when most comrades and when it can be put to the best use for the Socialist Party, which is the concrete expression of the Socialist movement in America.

Plans for Immediate Future.

In brief the propositions may be outlined as follows: That F. E. Seeds of Kentucky, if available, be appointed National Organizer for the states of Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and North Carolina. Comrade Seeds has had much experience as a party agitator and organizer, and is highly recommended to the national office.

Immediate Measures.

"While the fundamental purpose of the Socialist Party is to secure the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of the social ownership of all industry, yet its candidates, if elected, will work for all measures, which will improve the condition, provide necessary protection and guarantee greater liberty for the working class in the exercise of its rights, and at the same time tend toward the accomplishment of its final aim.

Progress of Transformation.

New York state grocers are likely, it is stated, to form a combination similar to that just formed in Ohio. The representatives of twenty-four Ohio wholesale grocery firms met at Columbus to turn over their concerns to the Ohio Grocery, a corporation recently organized under the laws of New Jersey. Twenty-five grocery firms throughout the state will operate under one general management. The company was organized by F. O. Leslie of Chicago, who says that a number of wholesale grocers of New York and Indiana have approached him in the matter of organizing similar companies in these states. The matter will be taken up and settled after the organization of the Ohio company has been perfected.

Read This and Pass It On.

200

LAWYERS AND THE TRUSTS.

Remarkable Report to American Bar Association.

Business of Lawyers Being Destroyed by Consolidation of Industry which Goes Away with Litigation Arising from Competition—Futile Remedies Proposed by the Perplexed Professions.

At the annual convention of the American Bar Association, which met at Hot Springs, Va., in August, Walter S. Logan of New York, in presenting the report of the Committee on Commercial Law, discussed the trust question and said that if combinations continue, competition will cease, and commercial jurisprudence will eventually be entirely changed. The committee, he said, had reached the unanimous conclusion that modern industrial combinations should be stayed. The report states that combinations are rapidly driving out of business the small dealer and the small producer. These two classes heretofore have furnished the largest number of petitioners in bankruptcy courts, but now industrial combinations of gigantic magnitude, too large for a bankruptcy court to manage and too rich to need ever be called before it, have been substituted. The report adds:

Persecution in Pennsylvania.

Louis Gouzon Is the Victim This Time in Monacahe—Magistrate Offers to Be "Lent" but Gouzon Stands for Justice.

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One May Own All.

"No one knows but that within the next ten years a greater than J. Pierpont Morgan will arise, who will combine in one organization all the industries of the land, so that the workman who works for wages can find but one possible employer, and the purchaser of wares but one possible seller. The steps toward the formation of one universal industrial corporation which shall crowd out all other corporations and assume to itself all the industries of the land have been already more than half taken. It is not so far to go from now to that end, as we had to go to reach present industrial conditions. "A monopoly is economically desirable; that is, for the monopolist. The United States Steel Corporation can produce no matter what it sells them for—its goods cheaper than the elements out of which the combination is composed ever produced them. The Standard Oil Company is economically holy, for it pays 40 per cent. dividends. The Sugar Trust is economically correct, for whereas the individual sugar refiners lost money on small capitalizations, the Sugar Trust pays big dividends on a large capitalization. The railroad combinations are economically imperishable, for they pay.

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One May Own All.

"No one knows but that within the next ten years a greater than J. Pierpont Morgan will arise, who will combine in one organization all the industries of the land, so that the workman who works for wages can find but one possible employer, and the purchaser of wares but one possible seller. The steps toward the formation of one universal industrial corporation which shall crowd out all other corporations and assume to itself all the industries of the land have been already more than half taken. It is not so far to go from now to that end, as we had to go to reach present industrial conditions. "A monopoly is economically desirable; that is, for the monopolist. The United States Steel Corporation can produce no matter what it sells them for—its goods cheaper than the elements out of which the combination is composed ever produced them. The Standard Oil Company is economically holy, for it pays 40 per cent. dividends. The Sugar Trust is economically correct, for whereas the individual sugar refiners lost money on small capitalizations, the Sugar Trust pays big dividends on a large capitalization. The railroad combinations are economically imperishable, for they pay.

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THE CLERICAL ATTACK ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

Why the Organized Churches Oppose Socialism and Criticize the Trade Unions as They Grow More Radical—A Letter by W. E. Clark, Rejected by the Omaha "Bee".

[No doubt all of our readers have observed the dispatches in the daily press, telling of the assault which certain bishops and priests of the Catholic Church have recently made upon the trade unions, particularly the International Typographical Union, and of the muny response of the union men, in respective of church affiliation.]

Futile Remedies of Learned Lawyers.

The lawyers see that in destroying competition the trusts are destroying the business which has always come to them in the litigation resulting from competition between many small capitalists, yet the interests of these professional men, who are dependent upon the business men for their fees, so far confuse and control their intelligence that they can helplessly propose only the most futile remedies. The report suggests as remedies that the trusts be taxed to death; that they be compelled to render better and cheaper service by a law providing that any corporation or individual that engages in interstate commerce must furnish its services or supply its goods at lower rates wherever, by any combination, competition is prevented than where competition is left free; and finally that "if necessary, the state itself can enter the industrial field as a producer and restore the force of competition to its former supremacy by becoming itself a competitor of the great trusts."

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200

Agents, Attention!

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The Worker.

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(Known in New York State as the Social
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from the jail by a mob of "citizens" and "run out of town" with the threat of death if they returned. To the appeal of the miners and smelters for protection against such outrages the Governor has turned a deaf ear.

But as soon as it became evident that the strike could not be broken by such means, the capitalists have appealed to the same Governor for "protection" and the militia has promptly been sent to their aid. Without even the formality of declaring martial law, the military officers have insolently overruled the civil authorities, refused to receive writs from the civil courts, and made wholesale arrests of active unionists, holding them in close confinement without trial, without definite accusation, even, obviously for the sole purpose of disorganizing the unions and intimidating their rank and file.

According to the latest dispatches the military and civil authorities are in open conflict. Some of the prisoners taken have at last been handed over to the courts, but the system of military intimidation still prevails.

In one word, the capitalists of Colorado are in armed rebellion against the law and the elected authorities of the district affected by the strike and the Governor of Colorado is actively aiding and abetting them in their lawless conduct.

"Let us have harmony between Capital and Labor," cry the journalistic and clerical spokesmen of Capital. But when the workmen refuse to accept the most of harmony proposed by the masters, when they decline to work at terms dictated by the capitalists and ask their fellow workers to join in the refusal, then come the military forces to "settle the strike" with bayonet and rifle.

General Chase is very frank and truthful in his statement. He is not at Cripple Creek to enforce the laws of a free people. He is not there to maintain peace and civil order. He is there to settle the strike. He is there to crush the workmen's organization, to prevent its leaders, to intimidate its members, to protect the owners of the mines and smelters in entrapping men by fraud and holding them by force to act as scabs until the strikers shall be starved into submission. He is there for this infamous purpose by the order of Republican Governor Peabody, with the tacit approval of Republican President Roosevelt, with the open approval of almost the whole Republican and Democratic press of the country, to serve the interests of the Republican and Democratic capitalists who live in luxury on the product of the other men's labor by the ownership of the means of production.

There are two ways in which the labor question, the irreconcilable conflict between the interests of capitalists and wage-workers may be settled.

One is General Chase's way: To crush the wage-workers into complete submission by the use of brute force. But that cannot successfully be done in single and isolated instances. If it is to have any chance of success, it must be made a universal system.

The organization of workmen must everywhere be destroyed, the press must be subjected to a despotic censorship, discussion of the relations of Labor and Capital must be forbidden, the workmen must be deprived of the franchise.

The other is the Socialist way: To make the means of production which the joint labor of the working class has created and kept in repair, which the joint labor of the working class operates, which are necessary to the existence of society—to make them the property of the whole people for the use of all, that all may work and receive the full product of their labor. This cannot be done successfully in single and isolated instances. It must be made a universal system.

This is the choice to which we must come, sooner or later. The action of the Colorado brigades is helping to bring it soon.

Either we are to move forward to Socialism or we are to move backward to worse than Russian absolutism. We cannot stand still. Now, as fifty years ago, "the nation cannot endure, half slave and half free."

Every ballot cast next month will tell on the one side or the other. Every Republican ballot will endorse the methods of Republican Governor Peabody, of Colorado. Every Democratic ballot will endorse the exactly similar methods used by Democratic Governor Steiwer of Idaho. Every Socialist ballot, be it cast in Maine or California, in Florida or Washington, will be a present help to the persecuted workmen of Colorado and an added force in our progress toward freedom.

A WISE SUGGESTION.

John Ellis, formerly editor of the *Haverhill "Social Democrat"*, writes as follows:

"It is regrettable that Socialists have not been able to carry out their policy to the point of introducing the character of the teaching in the public schools. There is no good reason why, in the high schools, and perhaps in the middle grade of the grammar schools, a suitable history of industry should not be introduced. It is vastly more important than the history of military and naval operations, which are now almost exclusively taught, and which are panned off upon the unsuspecting

mind of children as histories of the various peoples.

"Everyone experienced in the art of government realizes the importance of directing the human mind while it is yet in its formative stage, as expressed in the saying, 'Give me a child until his seventh year and I care not who has him afterward.' If a truthful history of industry were taught in the last year of the grammar grade in all public schools to-day, Socialism would be here in eight years, even if not in 1908." Eight years added to thirteen years of the grammar school graduates, would settle capitalism for this country.

"It is altogether possible that if our Socialist members of school committees realized the situation, they might, though in the minority, bring about the introduction of, or at least a demand for, instruction of this kind. 'Is this not worth attention?'

We heartily concur in the suggestion and would add that, even where we have no members upon the local school boards or committees, parents of school children could often exercise a very good influence by looking into the textbooks used and the methods of instruction in vogue and making appropriate suggestions to the school authorities.

To-day the schools are undoubtedly used to instill into the children's minds ideals of patriotism and public duty and theories of economics and politics which, while true enough for the society of half a century ago, are perniciously false to-day. It must be remembered, however, that this is not altogether a matter of purposeful mis-education, though it is partly so. To a great extent it is due to the passive acceptance by the teachers of traditional beliefs and feelings. It would be well worth while for our comrades everywhere to try to educate the teachers on questions of the day.

"What is the world is a rich man good for but to shell out his riches to the Church of God and to educational institutions?" was the sentiment expressed by the Rev. Dr. William C. Hitting of the Mount Morris Baptist Church in his sermon last Sunday. We would like to ask the Rev. Hitting the counter question: If the rich man is good for nothing but to "shell out" how is he entitled to the millions which he receives; and why should the people pay profits to the rich man who is "good for nothing" but to "shell out" for a lot of kept preachers and professors who educate the people to believe that the rich man is entitled to the riches turned over to him in the shape of rent, profit, and interest? It is evident that the function of the rich man is, as the Rev. Hitting says, to "shell out" a small part of his unearned wealth to the preachers and professors; and it is also evident, as the Rev. Hitting does NOT say, that the function of the preachers and professors is to see that the rich man continues to get his unearned wealth, says the preacher to the rich man and replies the rich man to the preacher: "You tickle me and I'll tickle you, and the people be damned."

Our attention is called to the fact that in Atlanta, Ga., where a member of the Socialist Party was arrested this summer and sentenced to a term in the chain-gang for daring to speak for the rights of the working class, the Labor Day celebration was signaled by an oration by Mayor Howell, the man who lapsed this infamous sentence in violation of constitution, law, public policy, and common decency.

An Atlanta comrade, commenting upon this exhibition, rightly says: "Labor has enough ability to ensure success upon any occasion without falling back upon the functionaries of capitalism. It is time this too-tending business stopped." Emphatically, it is. It would seem that the trade unionists of Atlanta need a little chain-gang medicine themselves and they will probably get it if they ever show spirit enough to resist capitalist aggression by a vigorous strike. Experience is proverbially a hard teacher, but some people learn from no other. And unfortunately the too-eaters of the labor movement are not confined to Atlanta.

WE ACKNOWLEDGE OUR ERROR.

The Worker has made not a few mistakes and will probably make many in the future. It hopes never to be too weak to admit such mistakes when it discovers them and to set them right so far as it is possible to do so.

Last week, in the article entitled, "A Question of Socialist Ethics," we made such a mistake. We violated our usual rule of postponing comment upon questions of party discipline until passed upon by the party itself. When it was too late we discovered that we had acted upon partial and misleading information and had been utterly mistaken in our statement of fact. We do not question the good faith of our informants, but frankly assume the blame for having formed and expressed a judgment without sufficient examination of the evidence.

We stated that a lawyer who is a member of the party had acted as counsel for an employer in getting an injunction against a union with which he was in trouble, and expressed the opinion that a member who did this must be struck from the membership rolls of the party.

To the opinion we still hold. But further investigation on our own part and especially an examination into the facts by a special committee elected for that purpose by the General Committee of Local New York has shown that as a matter of fact, no such circumstances existed as we had supposed.

The actual counsel in the case referred to, it is shown, is not a Socialist. He is the law partner of one who is a party member. It is well known that in such partnerships each partner often has a private practice, apart from that of the firm. In the present instance it is shown that the employer in question was the personal client of the non-Socialist member of the firm, was his client before the partnership was formed, and that the other partner at no time acted as counsel in the case. The misunderstanding on the part of our informants, in which we ungovernably followed them, arose from the supposition that it was a firm case.

It happens, furthermore, that the comrade concerned had in his personal capacity done good service to the union and that the union regards him with cordial good feeling.

It is not a little embarrassing to us to have made such a flagrant error and we can only say that it was a fault of judgment and not of intention and seek to avoid the like in the future.

Among the forthcoming publications announced for the early part of October by the Funk & Wagnalls Company of New York and London, is a "History of Socialism in the United States" by Morris Hillquit.

This book, treats of the Socialist movement in this country from all its phases, beginning with the early utopian experiments in practical communism, and leading up to the latest developments of modern Socialism. The work is divided into two parts. Part I, treating of Utopian Socialism and Communistic Experiments, contains chapters on *Scientific Communism*, the *Owenite Period*, the *Fourierist Period*, and the *Levantine Communism*; while Part II is devoted to an account of the development of Modern Socialism in this country, and contains chapters on the *Anti-Slavery Period*, the *International in the United States*, the *Period of the Socialist Labor Party*, and *Present-Day Socialism*. The book also contains brief but complete accounts of all radical reform movements in this country with which the Socialist movement has in the course of its development come into contact, such as the *Free Soil*, *Greenback*, *Anarchist*, *Single Tax*, *Nationalist*, and *Unionist* movements, and also a chapter on the history of the trade-union movement.

By arrangement with the author, The Comrade Publishing Company of 11 Cooper Square, New York City, has acquired the agency for the sale of the book to members and locals of the Socialist Party.

The book will contain 270 pages, octavo, cloth bound, and will retail at \$1.50. A discount will be allowed on large orders.

The United Crafts of Eastwood, N. Y., have issued a very attractive pamphlet, *James A. M. Simons' article on "The Economic Foundations of Art,"* which appeared in the "Craftsman" some months ago. Simons' treatment of the subject is full of suggestion for the earnest student either of art or of social science.

THE DEGENERATION OF JAURES.

We have several times expressed our deep regret that Jaures, who five or six years ago was as useful and stalwart a Socialist as any man in Europe, should now be deliberately going over to the "progressive" capitalist camp. It is very sad; for Jaures is still going young in the movement, and had he not been in such a desperate hurry to take official place, and to act with the Ministerial Party, he might have left some mark on his day and generation. As it is, we greatly fear that he will shortly have to be counted definitely with the Millerands, Bernstein, Turati, etc., who, in their respective countries, are doing their best to play the game of the profit-mongers better than the profit-mongers can play it themselves. At any rate, that is the effect of his long labored and wearisome disquisitions against Kanty in the "Petite République." These articles are written not so much in refutation of Kanty, as in support of that illustrious Socialist supporter of the South African gang of Joseph Chamberlain, and of plundering imperialism generally—Herr Edward Bernstein. What is even worse, Jaures goes out of his way to mislead his readers on the whole issue. It is quite certain that the vast majority of European and American Socialists—as will be shown at Amsterdam next year—do not in the least object to taking part in municipal work or in parliamentary business as Socialists. On the contrary, they are strongly in favor of this, the only practical course at the moment. But they do most strongly oppose action which causes Socialists to sink their principles in a capitalist "bait," after the manner of Jaures and Millerand, or to follow the Kaiser after the fashion advertised by Bernstein. All the verbiage and rhetorical dexterity of Jaures—and it is not a little—will not obscure that issue.

Instead of making the unity, however, James A. M. Simons, in *Germany*, has been arrested for less than a consequence of the publication of a story alleging that a fortified castle on an island was to be built for Emperor William in the outskirts of Berlin, as a safe retreat for him in the event of a revolution.

The "Vorwärts" asserts that its editor is to be put on trial merely to compel the paper to divulge its source of information, inasmuch as the official

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facts by a special committee elected for that purpose by the General Committee of Local New York has shown that as a matter of fact, no such circumstances existed as we had supposed.

The actual counsel in the case referred to, it is shown, is not a Socialist. He is the law partner of one who is a party member. It is well known that in such partnerships each partner often has a private practice, apart from that of the firm. In the present instance it is shown that the employer in question was the personal client of the non-Socialist member of the firm, was his client before the partnership was formed, and that the other partner at no time acted as counsel in the case. The misunderstanding on the part of our informants, in which we ungovernably followed them, arose from the supposition that it was a firm case.

It happens, furthermore, that the comrade concerned had in his personal capacity done good service to the union and that the union regards him with cordial good feeling.

It is not a little embarrassing to us to have made such a flagrant error and we can only say that it was a fault of judgment and not of intention and seek to avoid the like in the future.

Among the forthcoming publications announced for the early part of October by the Funk & Wagnalls Company of New York and London, is a "History of Socialism in the United States" by Morris Hillquit.

This book, treats of the Socialist movement in this country from all its phases, beginning with the early utopian experiments in practical communism, and leading up to the latest developments of modern Socialism. The work is divided into two parts. Part I, treating of Utopian Socialism and Communistic Experiments, contains chapters on *Scientific Communism*, the *Owenite Period*, the *Fourierist Period*, and the *Levantine Communism*; while Part II is devoted to an account of the development of Modern Socialism in this country, and contains chapters on the *Anti-Slavery Period*, the *International in the United States*, the *Period of the Socialist Labor Party*, and *Present-Day Socialism*. The book also contains brief but complete accounts of all radical reform movements in this country with which the Socialist movement has in the course of its development come into contact, such as the *Free Soil*, *Greenback*, *Anarchist*, *Single Tax*, *Nationalist*, and *Unionist* movements, and also a chapter on the history of the trade-union movement.

By arrangement with the author, The Comrade Publishing Company of 11 Cooper Square, New York City, has acquired the agency for the sale of the book to members and locals of the Socialist Party.

The book will contain 270 pages, octavo, cloth bound, and will retail at \$1.50. A discount will be allowed on large orders.

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PARTY NEWS.

New York City.

The City Executive and Campaign Committee of Greater New York, at its meeting on Sept. 25, received notice that Thomas J. Morgan of Chicago would accept the invitation to speak in New York. The committee decided to procure Comrade Hagerty for a series of large hall meetings in the different boroughs of the city. (See report of General Committee.) Communications from Comrades Ladd of Schenectady and Dr. Knopf of Albany offering their services as speakers were received but lack of funds prevented the committee from taking advantage of the opportunity to have these comrades speak in New York. The Financial Secretary reported the liabilities of the committee to date at \$12,250, with \$15,000 in the treasury to cover them. So far the committee has made it a point to keep its expenses within its income and it shall be the policy of the committee to conduct its work in such a manner as to leave no debts behind for the party to pay after election. All comrades and sympathizers holding lists are therefore urged to send their contributions at once, as the more money the Campaign Committee has the better will be the campaign this year. The committee instructed the secretary to procure estimates for 200,000 in all of leaflets reprinted from the following articles in recent issues of "The Worker": "Tuberculosis and Politics," "Vote for New Schools," and "The New York Gas Company"; also 50,000 additional copies of the municipal platform. As the literature is to be sold to locals, all comrades are requested and reminded to forward their literature from the literature agent of their respective organizations as the committee decided not to keep accounts with individuals or subdivisions.

At the meeting of the General Committee on Sept. 25 the action of the Campaign Committee in asking Comrade "Father" Hagerty to speak in New York was discussed, and it was decided that Local New York would not under any circumstances arrange any meetings for Comrade Hagerty, and the secretary of Local New York to the City Executive and Campaign Committee of Greater New York, who visited their headquarters in order to be engaged to speak in New York, was instructed to insist upon the cancellation of the engagement of Comrade Hagerty and the fulfillment of the arrangement with Comrade Thomas Morgan of Chicago.

The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville is in a flourishing condition. At last week's meeting, many members were admitted and four others were proposed. After business had been disposed of there was a good discussion on the Paris affair. The action of the Club in donating \$25 to the campaign fund of the Yorkville Agitation Committee and undertaking responsibility for carrying on the campaign in certain parts of the Yorkville district is highly appreciated by the other comrades. The Club meets every Sunday evening in the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 230 E. Eighth-street.

At last Sunday's meeting of the Kings County Committee, Comrade Hopkins presiding, it was voted to pay the State Committee \$100 on the amount claimed to be due from Local Kings County and Comrades Holzer, Cavanaugh and Buecher were elected as a committee to investigate the matter and report at next meeting. At last week's meeting, Comrade Hopkins reported successful campaign meetings held in the district and great interest shown by the audience. It was decided to hang a banner across the street in front of the Labor Lyceum. Comrade Cavanaugh resigned as delegate to the State Committee and as Financial Secretary. Comrade Strimphler was elected to succeed him in the former capacity and Comrade Buecher volunteered to act tentatively as Financial Secretary. The committee ordered fifteen thousand leaflets in German and 3,000 in Italian for agitation and instructed its delegates to see that the Campaign Committee issues a leaflet in Jewish.

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One of the most successful open-air meetings ever held in the 21st A. D. of Brooklyn took place last Sunday in the Italian section of the district under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party, Branch III. The success of the meeting was largely due to Comrade De Luca, the principal speaker for the occasion. The meeting had been thoroughly announced the day previous by handbills distributed by some of our comrades. When the meeting was opened only a few Italian workmen had gathered around the stand, but after Comrade De Luca had been introduced by the chairman, the audience soon grew until the whole thoroughfare was crowded with interested listeners. The comrades had five hundred Italian leaflets for distribution which went "like hot cakes" and requests for more had to be denied. For almost two hours the men listened very attentively to the speaker, with frequent applause and occasional approval, and when he concluded his appeal to vote for Socialism under the emblem of the Arm and Torch many of the listeners came forward to shake hands with him.

The managers of all agitation meetings in Brooklyn are asked to call on Charles Gieseler, 957 Willoughby avenue, near the Labor Lyceum, for supplies of cards advertising our future mass meetings, to be distributed by them. It is important that the distribution of the cards be not neglected. The managers of meetings are further instructed not to change the street agitation meetings from place to place, but to conduct meetings continuously in the same places at regular intervals, announcing at each meeting several

Nugent of Troy addressed a meeting in Albany last Saturday night. A considerable crowd was in attendance and much interest was manifested, the larger part of the audience staying until after eleven o'clock. All the literature on hand was quickly distributed and subscriptions for The Worker were taken.

Comrade Dennis of Albany writes that experience shows it to be a good idea to take up collections on Socialism. Comrade Nugent's conclusion: "Socialism is growing in Kansas and conditions are ripe for a good movement. Cattle and hogs are off in price about 35 per cent. in the last six months; wheat is impaired by rain and corn late and hurt by frost, all of which is making the farmers responsive to our educational efforts. And the wage laborers on farms, in mines, and in factories are here, as always, in a position to be convinced by the facts of the situation. The small merchants looking with holy horror at the ever increasing floods on their side by the department store and mail order house. I was never so impressed with the ripeness of conditions all along the line and imperative demand for more educational work, as I am in Kansas at the present time." Comrade Nugent also reports having taken up literature on the trip, and an increase of many numbers at several places. Comrades Spencer, of Emporia, and Peterson, of Salina, report favorably upon Nugent's work. Comrade Peterson says: "I wish we had ten thousand like him and the means of supporting them in the field." Nugent will close in Kansas at Galena, Saturday, Oct. 3, and after speaking at Neodesha, Mo., Oct. 4, will go to Tahlequah, La. for Oct. 7, to remain a week, where mail will reach him.

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THE BLUNDERS OF A STATISTICIAN.

By William R. Fox.

"Labor's Real Share," an alleged analysis of wealth production, published in the July number of the "American Federationist" is a treacherous fraud. I implore its author, Mr. F. G. H. Gordon, on the following count:

He falsified figures.

He avoided facts.

He developed, by padding, one of favoritism and the exploiters got all the favors.

I will prove every count of this indictment.

First, let me say right here, I disclaim any desire to criticize the editor of The Worker. If Gordon had only of humbly manipulated the census figures, it is not the fault of the editor of The Worker. The latter, as I see it, simply agreed with Gordon that some Socialists were making crude statements, were securing a quotient by dividing a gross total of wealth production in thousands of establishments by an alleged average of workmen.

The cruder of workmen put into the field a full ticket, to wit: Two assemblies, Mayor, President Common Council, three Assemblies, City Judge, County Clerk, County Treasurer, three Clerks. The Waterworks comrades would not be surprised if they elect two Aldermen. The Democrats and Republicans (used) and the issue is clear.

Not far from Watertown is Dexter. The Dexter comrades are out in a dextrous fashion. They are out with a full ticket and are in the fight to a finish.

As ever, Comrade Tom Pendergast of Watertown is in the front. He held a meeting in Pats Mills and dealt out some sound blows for Socialism. He expects to organize a local.

Herkimer County comrades have so far distributed 10,000 cards and 35,000 leaflets. Comrade Wilson was out canvassing the county for six days.

Harry B. Hanning, Organizer of Local Troy, writes as follows, about Fieldman's work, under date of Sept. 27: "Last Wednesday and Thursday evenings Comrade Fieldman spoke to very large and enthusiastic audiences. The R. L. P. followers were there with their usual purpose, but were soon put out of business. Comrade Fieldman is considered here as one of the finest speakers in the district. He has a good luck to listen to. He won repeated applause and considerable favorable comment throughout both meetings. He spoke three hours each evening. Saturday night he spoke at Albany. Although the crowd was not as large as at the Troy meetings they were equally, if not more, attentive listeners. About seventy were interested all night, and even then asked questions from the several comrades. For Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, Sept. 29 and 30, we have advertised open-air lectures on Green Island in village across the river from Troy. We are also making arrangements for Cohen, Waterford, North End (Troy), and Watervliet. Comrade Fieldman has more than aroused enthusiasm and awakened the comrades here who have been asleep in a stupor for some time. Comrade 'We' is well named, for he is 'hot stuff' all the year round."

What Our National Organizers Are Doing.

George E. Bigelow reports varied experiences on his trip through Kansas. He says: "At Emporia I found some quite radical middle-of-the-road Pop. I got them together and spoke on the street, with about seventy-five present. At the conclusion they crowded around and asked questions, but not one gave a stranger, betrayed much knowledge in advance of a radical form of Populism. Next I went to Emporia for three days and had good meetings, speaking four times. My best meeting was on Saturday evening, when there was estimated to be five hundred present. At Burlington it was disagreeable and cold, and my train was late, but I rushed around and got up a meeting of about fifty. Next day I had a good afternoon meeting, more than half farmers. We closed meeting on account of storm, but early next morning I started on a fourteen-mile drive to Leroy, in order to make train connection for Thayer. Arrived there late, with no one to meet me. Held a small meeting, after hand concert. Held three meetings at Neodesha, two at night, of laborers, Rockefeller's slaves, and one of farmers in the afternoon. One night I had two hundred and fifty present, and the second night I visited the crowd inside a hall, one hundred followed, and we held forth for over an hour. It was a very enthusiastic and responsive audience, and afforded the comrades much encouragement. At Parsons I next held three meetings. The comrades here are loyal, hearty fellows. Here I took a rest for one day, it being the second one I have taken on this trip. Had a good meeting at Mineral Sept. 25, and found a number of miners, chiefly French, and more or less ordinarily clean on Socialism." Comrade Bigelow concludes: "Socialism is growing in Kansas and conditions are ripe for a good movement. Cattle and hogs are off in price about 35 per cent. in the last six months; wheat is impaired by rain and corn late and hurt by frost, all of which is making the farmers responsive to our educational efforts. And the wage laborers on farms, in mines, and in factories are here, as always, in a position to be convinced by the facts of the situation. The small merchants looking with holy horror at the ever increasing floods on their side by the department store and mail order house. I was never so impressed with the ripeness of conditions all along the line and imperative demand for more educational work, as I am in Kansas at the present time." Comrade Bigelow also reports having taken up literature on the trip, and an increase of many numbers at several places. Comrades Spencer, of Emporia, and Peterson, of Salina, report favorably upon Nugent's work. Comrade Peterson says: "I wish we had ten thousand like him and the means of supporting them in the field." Nugent will close in Kansas at Galena, Saturday, Oct. 3, and after speaking at Neodesha, Mo., Oct. 4, will go to Tahlequah, La. for Oct. 7, to remain a week, where mail will reach him.

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National.

Ben Hanford's Tour.

The National Organizers.

New York City.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of Local New York on Sept. 22, Comrade Lane was elected as delegate from the First Agitation District. Organization of the 2d, 4th and 8th Assembly Districts was carefully considered, and Comrades Hillquit and

The 6th and 10th A. D. is carrying on a vigorous campaign, holding many successful open-air meetings and distributing much literature, and at the last meeting three more comrades were elected to assist the District Campaign Committee. A special leaflet will be distributed addressed to

county convention at Middletown on Sept. 30, and the following ticket was nominated: For Sheriff, George O. Eilman of Middletown; for County Clerk, Gustave J. Lindbee of Highland Falls; for District Attorney, Alexander Craig of Middletown; for Coroners, Frederick Means of Middletown and

Appleton Hall, Paine Memorial Building, ground floor, 7 Appleton street. Membership card must be shown at the door, as only party members in good standing will be admitted.

The Boston Central Committee, at its last meeting, voted to change Comrade De Leon of Italy, from the New York

As Comrade Barnes' term as National Committeeman is about to expire, locals are notified that they shall nominate a candidate for National Committeeman to represent the Socialist Party at the next convention.

blem in New York is the Arm and Torch.)

Harry M. McKee, who is now working as an organizer in Arizona under the direction of the National Committee, has been speaking and organizing in Southern California for the past three months, and during the first week of September formed five new locals

held the office of President of the United States, eighteen have been lawyers, three have been professional politicians, two soldiers, and two farmers. It is about time that a workman was put in. Workingmen, get ready to elect one of your own class

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

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The Worker.

AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.—NO. 29.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 18, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS

IN NEW YORK.

FRIDAY, OCT. 10.

Seventy-third street and First avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Franz and Mayes.

Eighty-third street and First avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Cassidy and Frost.

Ninety-second street and First avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Lee and Mackin.

112th street and Third avenue, 33d A. D. Speakers: Rosen and Phillips.

Thirtieth street and Eighth avenue, 13th A. D. Speakers: Paulitich, Abrahamson, and Finger.

Fourth street and Second avenue, 6th A. D. Speakers: Geiger and Moser.

SATURDAY, OCT. 17.

In front of Hoe & Company factory, Broadway and Morris streets, at 2 o'clock. Speakers: Frost.

Grand and Division streets, 12th A. D. Speakers: Bernstein and Frost.

125th street and Seventh avenue, 31st A. D. Speakers: Sackin and Lee.

148th street and Brook avenue, 34th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Abrahamson.

11st street and St. Ann's avenue, 25th A. D. Speakers: Harris, Finger, and Rosen.

Fourth street and Avenue A, 10th A. D. Speakers: Paulitich and Helchenbach.

Thirtieth street and Eighth avenue, 9th A. D. Speakers: Kearns and Lemon.

Suffolk and Stanton streets.

MONDAY, OCT. 10.

Sixth street and Second avenue, 10th A. D. Speakers: Nicholson and Goldstein.

Tenth street and Second avenue, 14th A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Franz.

Sixth street and Avenue C, 16th A. D. Speakers: Reich and Furman.

Twenty-second street and Second avenue, 18th A. D. Speakers: Cassidy and Rosen.

Forty-first street and Third avenue, 22d A. D. Speakers: Sackin and Mayes.

Sixty-fifth street and Third avenue, 24th A. D. Speakers: Harris and Abrahamson.

Suffolk and Stanton streets.

TUESDAY, OCT. 20.

Thirtieth street and Eighth avenue, 11th A. D. Speakers: Abrahamson and Phillips.

Fiftieth street and Eighth avenue, 15th A. D. Speakers: Sackin and others.

Montgomery street and East Broadway, 4th A. D. Speakers: Franz and Harris.

130th street and Eighth avenue, 23d A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Furman.

Tenth street and White Plains road, Williamsbridge. Speakers: Finger and Rosen.

Eighty-eighth street and Second avenue, 30th A. D. (Young People's Club), Speakers: Rosen and others.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 21.

Hudson and Spring streets, 1st A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Abrahamson.

Nineteenth street and Eighth avenue, 7th A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Nicholson.

Third street and Second avenue, 10th A. D. Speakers: Geiger and others.

100th street and Amsterdam avenue, 21st A. D. Speakers: Moser and Finger.

THURSDAY, OCT. 22.

Thirtieth street and Third avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Paulitich and Phillips.

Twenty-second street and Seventh avenue, 25th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Lee.

Sixty-seventh street and Amsterdam avenue, 16th A. D. Speakers: Franz and Furman.

FRIDAY, OCT. 23.

Seventy-second street and First avenue, 23th A. D. Speakers: Sackin and Phillips.

Seventy-eighth street and First avenue, 28th A. D. Speakers: Franz and Abrahamson.

Eighty-eighth street and Avenue A, 18th A. D. Speakers: Paulitich and Lee.

100th street and Lexington avenue, 32d A. D. Speakers: Mayes and Rosen.

First street and Second avenue, 10th A. D. Speakers: Rosen and others.

SATURDAY, OCT. 24.

Grand and Division streets, 12th A. D. Speakers: Bernstein, Nicholson, and others.

125th street and Seventh avenue, 31st A. D. Speakers: Lee and Franz.

155th street and Lexington avenue, 34th A. D. Speakers: Mayes and others.

Tremont and Washington avenues, 25th A. D. Speakers: Phillips and Moser.

Eighty-sixth street and Third avenue, 30th A. D. Speakers: Sackin and Helchenbach.

Eighty-second street and First avenue, 28th A. D. Speakers: Lemon and Rosen.

Norfolk and Delancey streets, 10th A. D.

Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, OCT. 10.

Scholes street and Manhattan avenue, 15th A. D. Speakers: Well and Streeter.

Trautman street and Hamburg avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Fraser.

Manhous street and Hamburg avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Schaefer and Droste.

Atlantic avenue and Nevins street, 1st A. D. Speakers: Matchett and Lackmeyer.

Smith and Dean streets, 1st A. D. Speakers: Atkinson and Passag.

Westmore Place and Fishing avenue, 6th A. D. Speakers: Peiser and Furman.

SATURDAY, OCT. 17.

Fifty-third street and Third avenue, 7th A. D. Speakers: Passag and Atkinson.

Bath avenue and Bay Eighteenth

street, 7th A. D. Speakers: Lackmeyer and Droste.

Pennsylvania and Atlantic avenues, 21st A. D. Speakers: Furman and Droste.

Manhattan avenue and Seigel street, 15th A. D. Speakers: Well and others.

Klickerbocker avenue and Harman street, 20th A. D. Speakers: Schaefer and Heid.

MONDAY, OCT. 19.

Humboldt street and Nassau avenue, 13th A. D. Speakers: Moser and Streeter.

Court street and Hamilton avenue, 3d A. D. Speakers: Passag and Lackmeyer.

Fourteenth street and Fifth avenue, 12th A. D. Speakers: Droste and Weil.

Floyd street and Thruway avenue, 6th A. D. Speakers: Schaefer and Heid.

Court and Warren streets, 8th A. D. Speakers: Atkinson and Fraser.

TUESDAY, OCT. 20.

Columbia street and Hamilton avenue, 3d A. D. Speakers: Lackmeyer and Streeter.

Johnson and Washington streets, 15th A. D. Speakers: Droste and Peiser.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 21.

Hamburg avenue and George street, 10th A. D. Speakers: Lackmeyer and Passag.

Varet street and Graham avenue, 15th A. D. Speakers: Peiser and others.

Jefferson and Klickerbocker avenues, 20th A. D. Speakers: Schaefer and Droste.

Flintshire avenue and Nevins street, 1st A. D. Speakers: Fraser and Furman.

THURSDAY, OCT. 22.

Norfolk street and Manhattan avenue, 13th A. D. Speakers: Moser and Droste.

Columbia and President streets, 3d A. D. Speakers: Lackmeyer and Atkinson.

Floyd street and Lewis avenue, 6th A. D. Speakers: Peiser and Heid.

Starr street and Hamburg avenue, 20th A. D. Speakers: Schaefer and Weil.

Smith and Livingston streets, 1st A. D. Speakers: Passag and Streeter.

FRIIDAY, OCT. 23.

Bushwick avenue and Grand street, 15th A. D. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Fraser.

Atlantic avenue and Nevins street, 1st A. D. Speakers: Streeter and Lackmeyer.

Smith and Jean streets, 1st A. D. Speakers: Droste and Atkinson.

SATURDAY, OCT. 24.

Forty-second street and Sixth street, 7th A. D. Speakers: Lackmeyer and Passag.

Fifty-second street and Third avenue, 7th A. D. Speakers: Peiser and Atkinson.

Queens.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 21.

Main street and Flushing avenue, L. I. City. Speaker: Franz.

Richmond.

SATURDAY, OCT. 17.

Canal and Bay streets, Stapleton. Speaker: Cassidy.

SATURDAY, OCT. 24.

Canal and Bay streets. Speakers: Paulitich and Furman.

Italian Meetings.

Angelo De Luca will address meetings in the Italian language as follows:

Thursday, Oct. 16—160th street and Morris avenue, 36th A. D.

Friday, Oct. 16—Stone and Pacific avenues, 21st A. D. Brooklyn.

Saturday, Oct. 17—Thirteenth street and Fourteenth avenue and North Second street and Union avenue, Brooklyn.

Monday, Oct. 19—Bayard and Mulberry street, 10 A. D.

Tuesday, Oct. 20—Villa avenue and 20th street, 35th A. D.

Wednesday, Oct. 21—112th street and First avenue, 32d A. D.

Thursday, Oct. 22—3d A. D. Friday, Oct. 23—Laborers' Protection.

Saturday, Oct. 24—Lorimer and Whiters street, 13th A. D. Brooklyn.

Monday, Oct. 26—Jerome avenue and Maple street, Annexed District.

Tuesday, Oct. 27—Arthur avenue and 18th street, 35th A. D.

Wednesday, Oct. 28—Brooklyn, place will be announced later.

Thursday, Oct. 29—110th street and First avenue, 32d A. D.

Friday, Oct. 30—14th A. D. (Indoor meeting) will be announced later.

Saturday, Oct. 31—Brooklyn, place will be announced later.

HALL MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

SATURDAY, OCT. 17.

Ratification meeting of the 14th A. D. at Wyckoff Hall, 220 Avenue A. Speakers: Franz, Phillips, Linder, and German speakers.

SUNDAY, OCT. 18.

Colonial Hall, 101st street and Columbus avenue, 6th floor. Lecture by I. Sackin on "Class Consciousness."

TUESDAY, OCT. 20.

Ratification meeting of the West Side at American Theatre Hall, Forty-second street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Rosen and Spargo.

THURSDAY, OCT. 22.

Ratification meeting of the Yorkville Agitation Committee at Old Homestead Garden, Third avenue, between Ninetieth and Ninety-first street. Speakers: Lee, Lemon, Heron, and Hayes.

Brooklyn.

FRIDAY, OCT. 16.

Ratification meeting of the 16th, 17th, and 18th A. D. at New Brooklyn Turn Hall, 105 Sumpter street. Speakers: Furman, Spargo, and Hayes.

Tobacco Hall, Thirteenth and Fifth avenues, lecture by Morris Hilquit, "Proper and Improper Definitions of Socialism."

SATURDAY, OCT. 17.

American Star Hall, Pitkin street and Christopher avenue, 31st A. D. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Fraser.

SUNDAY, OCT. 18.

Wurrier's Hall, 115 Washington

street. Lecture by Courtesy Lemon on "What the Class Struggle Really Is."

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 21.

Ratification meeting of the 18th and 14th A. D. at Eckford Hall, Eckford and Calyer street. Speakers: Furman and Spargo.

SATURDAY, OCT. 24.

Ratification meeting of the 15th A. D. at Miller's Hall, Montrose avenue and Humboldt street. Speakers: Butscher and Pathberg.

FRIDAY, OCT. 30.

Mass meeting at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, arranged by the Young People's Social Democratic Club of Brooklyn. Speakers: Schaefer and Spargo.

Queens.

FRIDAY, OCT. 30.

Hettinger's Broadway Hall. Speakers: Furman and others.

SPEAKERS FOR UNIONS.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of Local New York, Comrades Orlan, Solomon, and Malkiel were elected a committee to take charge of all applications to furnish speakers for trade unions. All organizations desiring Socialist speakers to address their meetings are requested to send in a notice, with time and place of meeting, to U. Solomon, Organizer, 64 East Fourth street.

EVIDENCE OF CONCENTRATION.

Inspection of the List of Directors of New Bank Combine Shows How All Great Capitalist Interests Are Linked Together.

The consolidation of the Western National Bank with the National Bank of Commerce which was formally accomplished last week, strikingly illustrates the process of concentration of capitalist ownership and centralization of control and the extent to which that tendency has already gone. Not only is this event, the union of two banks capitalised at \$10,000,000 and \$12,500,000 respectively into one with a capital of \$22,500,000, itself an example of the general tendency, still more striking is the evidence brought out by an examination of the list of officers and directors of the combine. Among those forty-seven men we need only mention the twenty-one following:

J. Pierpont Morgan, whose power is too well known to need dwelling on further than to say that he is a director of thirty-one other financial, manufacturing, railway, and other corporations;

Charles L. Linder, director of the Cotton Oil Trust, of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and of thirteen other companies;

Alexander E. Orr, director of twenty-one other business corporations;

John Claflin, director of twelve other companies besides the great H. B. Claflin Company;

Augustus D. Jellard, director of thirteen other corporations;

George G. Haven, director of twenty other corporations;

Richard A. McCarty, director of twelve other corporations;

William C. Whitney, a magnate of the New York Gas Combine, director of nine other corporations, and one of the principal owners of the trolley systems of New York City;

Frederick P. Olcott, director of twenty-one other companies;

Charles A. Prasky, director of thirteen other companies;

Chauncey M. Depew, United States Senator from New York Central and director of that and sixty-six other corporations;

James B. Duke, the magnate of the Tobacco Trust;

George J. Gould, too well known to need dwelling on further than to say that he is a director of forty-one other corporations;

Daniel Guggenheim, a principal magnate of the Smelting Trust;

Thomas H. Hubbard, director of twelve other companies;

James H. Hyde, director of twenty-six other corporations, including the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific;

Adrian Iselin, Jr., director of twenty other corporations;

Brayton Ives, of the Northern Pacific and the Westinghouse Company and seven other corporations;

Otto H. Kohn, of the Southern Pacific and several other companies;

Levi P. Morton, of the Panama Canal Company and nine other corporations;

Walter G. Oakman, of August Belmont's Rapid Transit Subway Company and of twenty-two other transportation, steel, coal mining, or financial corporations;

Ellis Root, Secretary of War by virtue of his power as a capitalist;

Jacob H. Schiff, director of eighteen other companies, including the Western Union Telegraph, the Southern Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Burlington, and the Northern Securities;

H. H. Vreeland, trolley magnate;

George W. Young, of the Soft Coal Trust, the Bicycle Trust, the Subway Company, and a dozen other corporations;

Thomas F. Ryan, a magnate of the New York Gas Combine, of the New York Trolley Combine, and of the Tobacco Trust, and a director of eleven companies outside those three concerns.

The mere recital of these familiar names is enough to show that the time is ripe for the inauguration of the People's Trust, the Socialist Commonwealth, that effective competition is a thing of the past, that it is no longer a question of protecting against the aggressions of this or that corporation, since all the corporations are now linked so closely together, but of a real battle by the whole Working Class against the whole Capitalist Class and Capitalist System.

It is confidently expected that notwithstanding the united opposition of the state committees of the old parties, and perhaps because of it, an increased vote, probably reaching 60,000, will be polled for the state ticket.

An Appeal for Funds.

It may be stated, that the Haverhill comrades have issued the following appeal for financial aid, and they will

MASSACHUSETTS.

Capitalists Campaigning Against Socialism.

Republican National Committee Trying to Defeat Carsey—Capitalists Enlist the Services of the Casson-Gordon-Avery-Goldstein Crew in Attempt to Stop the Growth of Socialism.

The existing political situation in Massachusetts is of great interest to Socialists. The increased vote polled last year has fully aroused the old party leaders, and while they are soundly chastising each other on the stump and in the press as of yore, yet they are co-operating in an effort to block Socialist progress and to win the upturning away from the new and growing force represented by the Socialist Party.

The Democratic State Committee is trying to regain the ground lost to the Socialists in several representative districts, notably the Fourth Plymouth, which the late Frederick O. MacFarquhar represented so ably for four years. In the South Boston districts the Democrats are especially active in disseminating literature attempting to show that Socialists are against religion, the family and marriage. South Boston is made up almost entirely of Irish Catholic workmen, and the increased Socialist vote polled there last year was a shock to the Democratic politicians who have controlled the districts for years. In the Brighton district also a fight is being made to prevent Comrade W. J. Coyne from being elected, as he polled a remarkable vote there last year.

In the Brockton district, Wallace C. Rausden is running for re-election, while there are good chances of electing another Socialist representative from Brockton and one in the Bridgewater district, where Geo. J. Alcott only missed election last year by less than 50 votes.

Attempt to Defeat Carsey.

But it is in the Fifth Haverhill District, represented for five years by James F. Carsey, that the fiercest fight is going on. The Fifth District has long been known as the "Gibraltar of Socialism." In Massachusetts, and while vigorous attempts have been made each successive year to defeat Carsey, they have all failed. But the efforts put forward by the opposition this year are reported to be unequalled in their intensity and bitterness.

The anti-Socialist campaign now reaching its culmination in the election next month has been gaining in force for the past year. A local fight between rival shop workers' unions has been taken full advantage of by the capitalist politicians and their tools, and nothing has been left undone to embitter the workers on both sides against Carsey and the Socialist Party.

In this the anti-Socialists have received the active assistance and support of the National Economic League and the Republican National Committee, for it is in Haverhill that the "campaign of education" against Socialism in Massachusetts has been inaugurated. A weekly paper devoted exclusively to fighting the Socialists has been published for nearly a year, the principal articles being furnished by F. G. R. Gordon, Herbert N. Casson and others. Gordon is now busy using the same figures he employed in support of Socialism as arguments to defend capitalism. In addition to this is the regular daily Republican paper, which has a monopoly in Haverhill, being the only one in the local field, and it fulfills its mission of distortion and misrepresentation to the utmost.

The Work of the Renegades.

In order to round out the non-descript collection of curiosities who have been enlisted against the Socialist cause, Martha Moore Avery and David Goldstein, who were defeated a year ago in their attempt to get control of the Socialist Party in Massachusetts, are announced as speakers against Carsey in his district, and the Republicans are preparing to give the reclaimed one a cordial reception. As was to be expected, Avery and Goldstein will speak on Socialism in its relation to the home, religion, and free love, subjects upon which, after several years' study and experience, they claim to be authorities, a proposition with which all those who know this pair will heartily agree. The latest news from Haverhill is to the effect that another paper is about to be started by an organization of business men, with Gordon as editor.

It is the means while the Socialists are doing the best they can. The literature is being distributed and meetings held nightly. Carsey is giving as much time as possible to the local campaign. The comrades are better organized than for some time, and many of the old workers have fallen into line again, aroused by the conflict. Of course, the anti-Socialists believe that by defeating Carsey they will be giving Socialism in Massachusetts its own blow, which reveals their ignorance of the movement.

In the state at large, John C. Chase is again on the stump as candidate for Governor, and John W. Brown, Dan A. White, Carv, Dr. H. A. Gibb, and others are speaking nightly throughout the state and addressing larger crowds than ever before.

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NEW YORK.
as Kangaroos are welcome.
No line drawn on smaller animals.

champion of the child slaves.
SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.
254 William St., New York.

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
(Given in New York City at the Social
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The paper should be addressed to the Editor
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week following receipt of money.
All communications should be written
with ink and on one side of the paper.
Words should not be abbreviated. Every
word should be spelled out. Do not use
abbreviations. Do not use initials. Do not
use words which are likely to be mis-
understood. Do not use words which are
likely to be misunderstood. Do not use
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We are asked by several readers to
advise whether Social Democrats in
the state of New York should vote for
or against the proposed expenditure of
\$100,000,000 in enlarging the Erie
Canal. The party as such has made
no decision on this question, but we
have little hesitation in advising that
our readers vote for the measure, since
it is submitted to them.

We quite understand that the en-
largement of the canal, even though it
is a public property, is not a great
issue for the working class. We quite
understand that, so long as the gov-
ernment of the state is left in the
hands of the capitalist class through
its Republican and Democratic agents,
the working class is not going to be
freed from wage-slavery nor its condi-
tion materially improved by the ex-
tension of the public functions.

But we are calling on the work-
men to use their votes to take the con-
trol of the state out of the hands of
the capitalists by voting for a Social
Democratic legislature and judges and
local officers on November 3. Con-
sistently with that advice, we advise
that they vote to enlarge the canal,
to improve by so much the industrial
plant of the state and nation and es-
pecially that part of it which already be-
longs to the state that we call upon
the working class to capture. The fact
that Senator Depew of the New York
Central is opposed to the proposition
is, by itself, a good reason for work-
men to vote for it.

In some quarters the objections are
raised that, in the present state of
affairs, the voting of such an ap-
propriation will give unlimited "grift"
to capitalists and politicians, and that
the work will be done by badly paid
and overworked laborers and mechanics,
to the great profit of the contractors.
Certainly it will, if the workmen,
voting for the canal, vote also for one
or the other of the two parties that
support capitalism, with all its ran-
dations of "grift," large and small.
But that is not a reason for voting
against public improvements. It is a
reason for voting to put the public
powers into the hands of the one party
of the working class—the Social Dem-
ocratic Party, which pledges itself
against profits for contractors,
against profits for any non-producers,
and for the reduction of working hours
in proportion to the increased produc-
tive power of labor, for the right and
duty of every man to work, and for
the payment to the workers of the full
value their labor creates.

The way to prevent "grift" and
scab conditions on the canal is not to
vote against the canal, but to vote for
the Arm-and-Torch.

PROFITABLE "CHARITY."
Superintendent Jenkins of the New
York Society for the Prevention of
Cruelty to Children made his report to
the Board of Directors the other day
for the months of May, June, July,
August, and September. Here is one
item from the balance-sheet he pre-
sented:

Children relieved and sent to
homes and institutions.....\$351.
It is not that a fearful, gruesome in-
cident of our capitalist system, that is
one city during five months—and these
the extent of the year, the ones in
which the lot of the poor is most
endurable—positive destruction, and
misery, should reach such proportions
that over three thousand eight hun-
dred children should be handed over
through our society alone to the cold
hands of charity?

And if you would know what be-
comes of the little victims, read the
New York "Times" dispatch, which
appeared without comment the same
week:

**"IMPORTING BOYS FROM NEW
YORK."**
CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 15.—For
years the glass factories of Poland
have had trouble getting enough boys
to work for them. Recently the pro-
prietors turned the experiment of im-
porting a score of kids from an op-
erative home of New York City. The
scheme seems practical, and arrange-
ments will be made to get several hun-
dred of these boys. A large building
is to be erected that will be run as a

hotel, and the kids will be housed
there in proximity to the works.
The property of Ohio workingmen, it
seems, does not furnish enough help-
less orphans to supply the demand of
Ohio capitalists for cheap labor to
grind out profits for them and they
keep wages down and intensify pov-
erty, as the charitable societies of New
York are engaging in a veritable
slave-trade for their benefit.

What work in the glass factories
means, as those factories are run to
day, even for men—the long hours, the
"rushing," the intense heat and then
the going out, drenched with sweat,
into the cooler air, the alternating of
day and night shifts with its conse-
quences of broken rest and lowered
vitality—all this is well enough known.
Consumption, bronchitis, asthma, rheu-
matism, and chronic insomnia, are
among the penalties that the glass
workers pay for the prosperity of the
glass capitalists. And for the sending
of the most unfortunate children of
our class from the hell of the city
streets into this yet worse hell of the
glass factories, we are expected to be
grateful to our business-like philan-
thropists.

It is not high time that the work-
ing class ceased howling down to these
men that trade in our flesh and blood
under the cloak of charity, that we
hurled them from their high places
and used our own power and our own
intelligence for our own salvation? Or
are we to go on forever, permitting
them to make paupers of those who
create their fortunes and then thank-
ing them for making slaves of the chil-
dren of those they have impoverished?

There is much talk now in the great
capitalist papers of New York and
elsewhere concerning the importance
of the Socialist vote. In one paper,
for instance, we read:

"The Socialist vote is not to be
slighted. It was tremendous last year,
and may be greater still this year.
What is most momentous is that the
Social Democratic Party is gaining
ground throughout the land."

The other papers write in the same
spirit. Lately the great voice of the
German Socialists, a star of the
leading periodicals have been printing
articles on Hebel as the leader of the
strongest party in Germany and on
Janine as the most conspicuous figure
in the French Chamber. And now as
the fall elections draw near, the press
is reminding that the Socialists of this
country are wide awake as well. The
movement is pressing forward with
promising strides. Comparing the move-
ment of to-day with that of, say, ten
years ago, one is amazed by its rapid
growth.

Ten years ago non-Socialists were
shamelessly spoke of the movement, it was
remarked that it was wholly in the
hands of foreigners; here in New York
the main force of the Socialist Party
for some time, was centered in the
Jewish quarter. It was then that the
question was frequently put: "Grant-
ing that all the Jews become Social-
ists, what then? Suppose we are all
with you, what good will it do, so long
as the native American mocks at So-
cialism? Can the Jews of the States
united, merely in establishing the
golden age on earth?" In these days
it seemed as if the Jewish immigrants
were at the head of the entire move-
ment, as if they led the way for the
few American Socialists there were,
and marching onwards called others to
the native American, who prides him-
self in his shrewdness and looks down
upon Europeans with disdain, should
follow a handful of "preachers" and
consent to be instructed by them as
to the right political course for him to
pursue.

But things were rapidly being in-
tellectual as well as material progress
advancing with the speed of steam and
electricity. In the ten years that have
passed, Socialists have spread among
the native Americans as well as among
the immigrants. Socialism is no longer
a mere theory, it is a living force, it
is a power, it is a movement, it is a
revolution.

Jewish Socialists, however, are
now a new and powerful factor in
the movement. With the American So-
cialists, just as the whole of the Jewish
population is in proportion to the
American. It is quite unreasonable

to talk of the Jews as the main
force of the Socialist movement. The
present version of the question is not
whether the Americans will follow the
Jews, but rather whether the Jews
will follow the hundreds of thousands
of American Socialists.

The Jews have always sympathized
tremendously with all that is good.
The movement which is now spread-
ing so rapidly among the Americans is
the best and noblest humanity has
ever known. It aims at the eradica-
tion of all oppression and poverty, it
struggles to put an end to robbery
and wrong, to make everyone do some
useful work and to open for each and
all the way to an agreeable, blameless
and peaceful life. You may rest as-
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IS SOCIALISM ON THE WANE?

A Reply to Herbert N. Casson by William Mailly, National Sec-
retary of the Socialist Party.

The party Socialists in the United
States are a struggling, disheartened,
bankrupt gang of trouble makers,"
says Herbert N. Casson in an article
entitled "Socialism is on the Wane,"
which has found wide circulation in
both the capitalist and labor press of
the country. Mr. Casson is one of
those tolerant, gentle-souled, sweet-
voiced gentlemen who seem to have
nothing to say to anyone who dis-
agrees with them. And, above all, they are truthful, if
nothing else.

Which is why Mr. Casson uses the
language above quoted. He has ar-
rived at the startling conclusion there-
in stated after what claims to be an
analysis of the annual report of the
former National Secretary of the So-
cialist Party, Leon Greenbaum, who
was consistent enough to leave the
party shortly after he lost the posi-
tion.

Casson's "analysis" was first
published on July 17, 1903, six months
after Greenbaum's report was issued,
and Casson says the report "was not
supposed to be seen by anyone outside
of the party." Smart fellow, Mr. Cas-
son! The report was printed and sent
out by Mr. Greenbaum himself and
was published in at least one Socialist
Party paper—The Worker. There was
no secrecy about it. Greenbaum and
his colleagues looked after that. But
Casson's startling discovery displays
that same infantile and naive igno-
rance which has distinguished him
throughout his whole career.

There are twenty points submitted
by Casson as justification of his in-
dictment of Socialists for incompetency
to govern their own affairs. It is use-
less to enumerate them, and unnece-
ssary to refute them in detail. The best
answer to Casson's belated slander
will be a statement of facts covering
the real condition of the national So-
cialist Party to-day.

1. There are thirty-five states or-
ganized and affiliated with the na-
tional organization of the Socialist
Party.
2. Eighty-seven local organizations
have been chartered by the national
headquarters since January last. There
are either paying dues direct or
through their state organizations.
3. Every state organization save
one (Ohio) is paying dues regularly to
the national headquarters.

4. Official reports of all business
and financial transactions of the na-
tional and state organizations are is-
sued weekly and monthly and pub-
lished in the party press.
5. The dues-paying membership has
increased from 10,000 last January
when Greenbaum's report was pub-
lished to nearly 15,000 in September.

6. The national headquarters has
now nine national organizers in the
field, receiving each a regular salary
of \$3 per day and expenses, besides
having lecturers and others constantly
employed.

7. The debt of national headquar-
ters has been reduced from \$1,353.32
in January to \$507.18 on October 1.

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elsewhere concerning the importance
of the Socialist vote. In one paper,
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TO THE ONE WHO DOESN'T COUNT.

By F. Stampfer.

Readers will kindly pardon me for
publishing here an article which con-
cerns only one, the individual who
doesn't count. Although he is an old
acquaintance of mine, I do not at all
know his exact address. I only know
that while I am writing this he is
somewhere at home or in the
saloon, where he waits all the while
for the philosopher to take more in-
terest in public life with the philoso-
phical remark that he is only one, and that he
doesn't count.

I am not certain to which election
district he belongs at present, but I
venture to think that it is either a
good district or a bad one. If it is a
good district, my friend cheerfully de-
clares that where so many enthusiastic
citizens are at work carrying on a
splendid Socialist campaign, he would
be quite superfluous; and if the dis-
trict happens to be a bad one, his
equality is even less disturbed, for
he alone, says he, could not get the
padding done, anyhow. I call him my
friend, for he possesses in a large
measure one of the most beautiful hu-
man virtues—modesty.

It is evident that every great political
movement is made up of "individuals."
At the last German election three
million men voted for Socialism.
All these were individuals; but they
differed from my worthy friend in
this respect, that they "count," and he
doesn't! The three million men
hundred and nine thousand individ-
uals have filled the rolling classes
with endless numbers. The Kaiser
and his ministers have made speeches
against them. It has been tried to
counteract their influence by special
legislation, or to gain their good
graces by measures favorable to the
working class. You cannot pick up a
newspaper or a periodical in the land
that does not force those three million
men hundred and nine thousand
individuals upon your attention. The
paper that has been consumed to write
about them would more than cover
the entire globe. The wise and the
learned men of the state have written
books about them which, if brought
together and piled up, in one mass,
would rival the pyramids of Giza.
So important are these individuals,
and so unimportant feels my poor
friend who doesn't count.

But, says he, in these newspapers,
these books, these speeches you always
hear of Marx, Lassalle, Liebknecht,
or other dead or living agitators and
authors, never of the Joneses, the
Smiths, the Meyers, the Lehmans,
the Napiers.

Simpleton! If it wasn't for the
Joneses, the Smiths, the Meyers,
the Lehmans, and the Napiers, the ruling
powers would have little fear either
of the living agitators of Socialism.
The thing is just the other way,
my modest friend! Marx, Lassalle,
Liebknecht, they are the "individuals
who don't count"—as long as they re-
main individuals! It is not they that
count but just you.

No matter how small you wish to
appear, or how hard you may try to
hide beneath your machine or behind
your cant-table, you cannot escape the
statistician. You try to minimize

the influence of the individual who
doesn't count, but you only make him
more prominent. You try to make
him less, but you only make him more.
You try to make him less, but you only
make him more. You try to make him
less, but you only make him more.

Let us not let the Jews be backward.
(Translated from an Editorial by Abraham Cahan in the Jewish
Daily "Forward.")

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capitalist papers of New York and
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Ten years ago non-Socialists were
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to the right political course for him to
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But things were rapidly being in-
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electricity. In the ten years that have
passed, Socialists have spread among
the native Americans as well as among
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Jewish Socialists, however, are
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The Jews have always sympathized
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TO THE ONE WHO DOESN'T COUNT.

By F. Stampfer.

Readers will kindly pardon me for
publishing here an article which con-
cerns only one, the individual who
doesn't count. Although he is an old
acquaintance of mine, I do not at all
know his exact address. I only know
that while I am writing this he is
somewhere at home or in the
saloon, where he waits all the while
for the philosopher to take more in-
terest in public life with the philoso-
phical remark that he is only one, and that he
doesn't count.

I am not certain to which election
district he belongs at present, but I
venture to think that it is either a
good district or a bad one. If it is a
good district, my friend cheerfully de-
clares that where so many enthusiastic
citizens are at work carrying on a
splendid Socialist campaign, he would
be quite superfluous; and if the dis-
trict happens to be a bad one, his
equality is even less disturbed, for
he alone, says he, could not get the
padding done, anyhow. I call him my
friend, for he possesses in a large
measure one of the most beautiful hu-
man virtues—modesty.

It is evident that every great political
movement is made up of "individuals."
At the last German election three
million men voted for Socialism.
All these were individuals; but they
differed from my worthy friend in
this respect, that they "count," and he
doesn't! The three million men
hundred and nine thousand individ-
uals have filled the rolling classes
with endless numbers. The Kaiser
and his ministers have made speeches
against them. It has been tried to
counteract their influence by special
legislation, or to gain their good
graces by measures favorable to the
working class. You cannot pick up a
newspaper or a periodical in the land
that does not force those three million
men hundred and nine thousand
individuals upon your attention. The
paper that has been consumed to write
about them would more than cover
the entire globe. The wise and the
learned men of the state have written
books about them which, if brought
together and piled up, in one mass,
would rival the pyramids of Giza.
So important are these individuals,
and so unimportant feels my poor
friend who doesn't count.

But, says he, in these newspapers,
these books, these speeches you always
hear of Marx, Lassalle, Liebknecht,
or other dead or living agitators and
authors, never of the Joneses, the
Smiths, the Meyers, the Lehmans,
the Napiers.

Simpleton! If it wasn't for the
Joneses, the Smiths, the Meyers,
the Lehmans, and the Napiers, the ruling
powers would have little fear either
of the living agitators of Socialism.
The thing is just the other way,
my modest friend! Marx, Lassalle,
Liebknecht, they are the "individuals
who don't count"—as long as they re-
main individuals! It is not they that
count but just you.

No matter how small you wish to
appear, or how hard you may try to
hide beneath your machine or behind
your cant-table, you cannot escape the
statistician. You try to minimize

the influence of the individual who
doesn't count, but you only make him
more prominent. You try to make
him less, but you only make him more.
You try to make him less, but you only
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Let us not let the Jews be backward.
(Translated from an Editorial by Abraham Cahan in the Jewish
Daily "Forward.")

There is much talk now in the great
capitalist papers of New York and
elsewhere concerning the importance
of the Socialist vote. In one paper,
for instance, we read:

"The Socialist vote is not to be
slighted. It was tremendous last year,
and may be greater still this year.
What is most momentous is that the
Social Democratic Party is gaining
ground throughout the land."

The other papers write in the same
spirit. Lately the great voice of the
German Socialists, a star of the
leading periodicals have been printing
articles on Hebel as the leader of the
strongest party in Germany and on
Janine as the most conspicuous figure
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The Worker.

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FOR SOCIALISM IN HUDSON COUNTY.

The Only Party that Boldly and Consistently Opposes Child Labor and Supports the Schools.

Socialist Party Has Full List of Legislative, County, and City Candidates, Chosen by Class-Conscious Workingmen from Their Own Ranks to Represent Their Class Interests Against the Twin Parties of Capitalism.

The Socialist Party of Hudson County, N. J., has filed the following nomination certificates with the County Clerk:

For Assembly—William H. Morton, James M. Kelly, Carl A. Paolucci, Charles Ufert, George H. Headley, William Kaup, Edwin Dickson, John Suert, Richard Blechschmidt, Stephen H. Husey, Ernest Fischer, Robert T. Falbe. For Coroners—Louis Richman, Emil Steinbach.
Jersey City—For Mayor, Henry Kahn; for President of Board of Aldermen, Henry Meyer; for Street and Water Commissioners, Frederick Nicolson and Nicholas Peterson.

For Assembly—William H. Morton, James M. Kelly, Carl A. Paolucci, Charles Ufert, George H. Headley, William Kaup, Edwin Dickson, John Suert, Richard Blechschmidt, Stephen H. Husey, Ernest Fischer, Robert T. Falbe. For Coroners—Louis Richman, Emil Steinbach.
Jersey City—For Mayor, Henry Kahn; for President of Board of Aldermen, Henry Meyer; for Street and Water Commissioners, Frederick Nicolson and Nicholas Peterson.

The foregoing ticket, composed of craftsmen in varied trades and occupations, represents the class-conscious element of the working people of Hudson County.

It is true, Mayor Fagan, who is seeking re-election as the Republican candidate, poses as a workingman, formerly earning \$15 a week as an undertaker's assistant. But Mr. Fagan, though of the working class, is not for it. Two instances will clinch this statement.

First, credit is claimed for Fagan's administration in adding \$2,500,000 to the assessments of tax-dodging corporations, while the tax-rate for individual property owners was reduced. A Socialist administration would utilize this wealth gathered from the corporations for the welfare of the laboring class that originally created it. Not so Mr. Fagan. He promised the firemen on two occasions that they would get the raise in wages assured them by the Legislature. But the fire-fighters will have to wait until the Republican organization back of Mayor Fagan gets ready to patronize "that large class"—to quote from a Republican campaign document—"of our citizens who are not directly taxpayers." The second instance in which Mr. Fagan shows his want of sympathy for his class concerns the trolley workers. Though pursuing the street-car trust, which may well be called the "Dividend of Public Service Corporation," with suite in the endeavor to swing from it \$100,000 a year in taxes, Mr. Fagan makes no plea for the overworked and underpaid trolley men, who were on the verge of striking a few weeks ago.

Working people need bathing facilities, and lots of them. If "cleanliness be next to godliness" it is suggested that a public bathhouse, erected next to every church, or, better still, in the interest of the fifty per cent. of the population living in tenements in Jersey City, pass a law compelling landlords to install sanitary bathing equipment in all tenements. Mayor Fagan's administration will be wholly inadequate and, worse still, may be a fruitful source for the spreading of foul skin diseases and "pink eye," if the evidence of some reliable sanitary authorities be accepted.

Mark Fagan against the Trusts! The Republican leaders charge, and no doubt with truth, that the Trolley Trust, Standard Oil and other interests have contributed to the Democratic campaign fund and are interested in the election of Judge James J. Murphy to the mayoralty. Railroad-wrecker tonight, at the time when he was especially interested in Erie Railroad stock, being asked what party he supported, replied: "In a Republican state, I'm a Republican; in a Democratic state, I'm a Democrat; and in a Socialist state, I'm a Socialist." President Havemeyer of the Sugar Trust testified before an investigating committee that his corporation regularly made large and equal contributions to the campaign funds of both old parties. In the light of this testimony, it is asked where is the big fund coming from for the tons of expensive book and poster printing, besides lithographs, buttons, fans, and candy for the ladies, hire of halls, music, fireworks, etc.? As it is charged that the National Committee of the Republican party is helping Jersey City out, how uneasy Mark must feel being assisted with the funds furnished by the trusts to the Republican party!

Who furnishes the Socialist Party with its campaign funds? It is a question heard from time to time, a question we are ever ready to answer. Upon the reply to that query hangs a story which reveals the enthusiasm and fidelity to a cause which the Socialists of Hudson County displayed in raising the present campaign fund. A monster outdoor festival was arranged to secure the fund and a large number of tickets were sold in advance. But the day of the event was marred by an incessant downpour of rain. Though the ordinary pleasure-seeking individuals would laugh at the idea of venturing outdoors in such weather, the undaunted Socialists with their wives and children crowded

DO NOT THROW YOUR VOTES AWAY.

Workingmen of New York and of the United States, on Tuesday next you will be called upon to vote for local and state officers and legislators and judges to make and apply and administer the laws by which you are to be governed. For the last time before Election Day we call upon you NOT TO THROW YOUR VOTES AWAY.

All the year through you are engaged in conflict with the capitalist class. You do not own the home where you live; every month, every day, you feel the conflict between your interests and the interests of the landlords who levy tribute upon you for permission to live upon the face of the earth. You do not own the means of production with which you work. You are dependent upon other men for permission to use your strength and skill in useful labor.

Every day you feel the conflict between your interest and the interest of the employers who levy a daily tribute upon you, who allow you to work and live only when they can make a profit upon your labor. You are forced to strike and boycott. They meet you with the lockout and the blacklist. All the year through you are either in open war with your employers or standing in arms, ready to fight against their aggressions.

Since on every other day in the year, the interests of the working class and those of the capitalist class are opposed, is it not evidently IMPOSSIBLE that any one party should represent BOTH classes on Election Day?

It is impossible. Each party, each candidate, each public officer, must either stand for the capitalists against the workers or else for the workers against the capitalists.

If you cast your vote without first discovering which party stands for your class, then you will have thrown your vote away.

In all your conflicts, have you found the Republican administrations of city, state, and nation on your side or on the side of your masters? ALWAYS on the masters' side. Always ready, with court decisions, with injunctions, with policemen's clubs and soldiers' bayonets to support Profit against Human Life.

And the Democratic administration? JUST THE SAME. You couldn't tell one from the other without the party label.

And the "Reformers," the "Citizens' Unions," the "Non-Partisan" parties the self-styled respectable "Good Government" people, the "Business Administrations," and all that ilk? ALWAYS the same. Always putting BUSINESS INTERESTS ABOVE THE WORKERS' WELFARE.

Look back over the past year, the past two years, the past decade, and see if this is not so.

If you vote for a Reform Mayor and that mayor sends police to break strikers' heads—as Mayor Low, among others, has done—was it not YOUR ballot that gave force to the club?

If you vote for a Democratic judge and that judge declares labor laws unconstitutional—as Judge Denis O'Brien, among others, has done—was it not YOUR ballot that authorized the infamous decision?

If you vote for Republican and Democratic legislators and aldermen and they unite in giving franchises of enormous value to capitalists and refusing even the slightest protection to workingmen—as every old-party legislature and city council in the land has done—was it not YOUR ballot that authorized the infamous decision?

OWN YOUR OWN CLASSES! HIRELESS! Your ballot, Mr. Mechanic or Mr. Common-laborer, is equal to the vote of your landlord or of your employer or of any franchise lord or Wall Street magnate or trust-broker—IF YOU USE IT INTELLIGENTLY AND BOLDLY.

If you vote the Republican ticket along with the Vanderbilts, or if you vote the Democratic ticket along with Whitney and Belmont, then Whitney and Belmont and the Vanderbilts and all their class are going to profit by YOUR vote and YOU WILL HAVE THROWN YOUR VOTE AWAY.

But, you will say, "We workingmen, in general, are so stupid, so apathetic, so timid, that most of us are sure to vote an old-party ticket. There is no chance for Socialism to win this time, though I know it is right. Why, then, should I vote for a party that I feel sure is not going to win? Why not that by throwing my vote away?"

Suppose every man who ever saw the truth had reasoned like that. Suppose every man who had a new idea had waited for everybody else to get that same idea before he dared to announce it and square his life to the

WORKINGMEN OF NEW YORK, VOTE THIS TICKET STRAIGHT!

It Is Not for Men that We Ask Your Suffrages, but for Principles Founded in Working-Class Interest.

Workingmen of New York, if you wish to put the government of the city and state again into the hands of bankers and landlords and corporation lawyers and trolley magnates—do not vote the Social Democratic ticket.

If you want another lockout and wish the city government again to give its support to the Employers' Association—vote against the Social Democratic Party.

If you wish to have the police used to break strikes, as Van Wyck's men, Devory, used them against the Brooklyn trolley workers and the New York cigar makers and as Low's men, Greene, used them against the tunnel laborers—vote for one of the old parties.

If you desire to see more labor laws declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals—vote for either of the old parties, for they have both renominated Denis O'Brien on such a record.

If you like to see thousands of working-class children excluded from school for the benefit of the big tax-dodgers and forced into the factory by the poverty of their parents—vote under any old emblem except the Arm and Torch.

If you are satisfied to be poor while the idlers grow rich upon your labor and the labor of your wives and children—vote against Socialism.

If you like the sort of prosperity you have had under Democratic and Republican rule throw dice to decide which old-party ticket you will vote. It will save you that trouble of thinking and the result will be the same.

But if you do this, don't grumble when you get the clubs, bayonets, and injunctions you voted for.

Remember this: THE VOTES THAT THE POLITICAL FEARS AND RESPECTS ARE THE VOTES THAT ARE CAST AGAINST HIM.

So long as he is sure of your vote, the politician in office doesn't care a rap for you. Wherever either the Republican or the Democratic party thinks it has what is commonly called a "clinch," it rules with absolute disregard of the interests of the mass of the voters, with regard only to the interests of its capital backers and its party leaders.

The Socialist vote—in New York it is called Social Democratic—is THE ONLY CHECK UPON THE USE OF THE POLITICAL POWER FOR THE ADVANTAGE OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

The old-party politicians and the capitalists who supply their campaign funds and their booties know that the Socialist Party—the Social Democratic Party of New York—stands for the working class against capitalism and all that is connected with it.

Let the Socialist vote be small, the old-party politicians in office will use their power unrestrainedly for the capitalists and against the workers.

LET THE VOTE FOR SOCIALISM BE LARGE, let it be largely increased over that of last year, these politicians will fear the further increase of that Socialist vote and will RESPECT THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS that it represents.

He who fights for his rights only when he feels sure of winning, who lets his enemy trample on his rights at will if he thinks his enemy is stronger than he, is despised as a coward. His enemy despises him and treats him accordingly.

Workingmen, do not play the part of cowards at the ballot box. IF YOU DO, YOU WILL PAY THE PENALTY THE COWARD ALWAYS PAYS.

WENDELL PHILLIPS' ADVICE TO LABOR.

This is the advice that Wendell Phillips, after he had fought the good fight for the abolition of chattel slavery and taken up the battle against wage slavery, gave to the workingmen of Massachusetts and of America:

"If you want power in this country; if you want to make yourselves felt; if you do not want your children to wait long years before they have the bread on the table they ought to have, the leisure in their lives they ought to have, the opportunities in life they ought to have; if you do not want to wait yourselves—write on your banner so that every politician, no matter how short-sighted he may be, can read it: 'WE NEVER FORGET!' If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at labor, we never forget; if there is a division in Congress, and you throw your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget; you may go down on your knees and say, 'I am sorry I did the act,' and we will say, 'Repentance may avail you in heaven, but on this side of the grave, never!' So that a man, in taking up the labor question, will know he is dealing with a half-tricked pistol, and will say, 'I am to be true to justice and to man; otherwise, I am a dead duck.'"

—Every reader of The Worker is invited to send in the addresses of such of his acquaintances as may be open to new ideas in order that sample copies of the paper may be sent to them.



For Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals:
CHARLES H. MATCHETT.

For Mayor:
CHARLES L. FURMAN.

For Comptroller:
MORRIS BROWN,
of Cigar-makers' Union No. 144.

For President of the Board of Aldermen:
PETER J. FLANAGAN,
of Typographical Union No. 6.

Workingmen of New York, each of you has the same power at the polls as J. P. Morgan. The only way to throw a vote away is to use it wrong.

The Social Democratic Party does not use the common cant of telling you to "turn the rascals out" and put "good men" in. The candidates of the old parties ought to be voted down, not on the ground that they are all rascals, but on the ground that the principles and policies of both their parties are in the interest of the exploiting class. The Social Democratic candidates ought to get your votes, not merely because they are good men, but because they stand squarely for the workers' interests. We do not ask for personal votes. We want votes for Socialism, not for men.

If you wish the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of city, state, and nation used to help you in your struggle for better conditions; if you wish to put an end to the poverty of the workers and the power of the idlers; if you wish your children to have a better life than you have had; if you would secure to the workers the whole value of their product—put a cross under the Arm and Torch in the THIRD COLUMN.

Different sections of the capitalist class may have good reasons to vote for this or for that old-party ticket. The capitalist class as a whole has a good reason for maintaining two old parties, that it may keep you divided on false issues—divided and weak. Their "issues" do not concern your interests. There is only one issue for you—Labor against Capital. The Social Democratic Party makes no pretense to "represent all classes," but stands for Labor against Capital, first, last, and all the time.

Devery, under Democratic Mayor Van Wyck, USED THE POLICE to break the "Brooklyn trolley" strike and the New York cigar-makers' strike. So Commissioner Greene, under Reform Mayor Low, used the police to break the subway laborers' strike and to intimidate the Queens County Railroad workers. Comptroller Grout, now a Democrat, and District Attorney Jerome, still a Fusionist, had power, when the Building Trades Employers' Association locked out the workmen, the one to make the contractors pay penalties for failure to finish the schoolhouses in time, the other to prosecute them for conspiracy; THEY ALLOWED THE LOCKOUT BOSS-ES TO HAVE THEIR OWN WAY. In 1901, after four years of Tammany rule, 3,000 children were excluded from school and 5,000 put in part-time classes, for lack of schoolhouses; to-day, after two years of Reform, 8,000 are in part-time classes. Neither of your parties when in power has TRIED to enforce the Ten Hour Law for the protection of street and elevated railway employees—Democratic capitalists Belmont and Whitney and Christian and Republican capitalists Platt and Dewey and Reform Capitalist Cutting know why.

Both your parties endorse the economic system whereby one class owns the means of production and, without doing useful work, draws profits from the labor of the other class which operates them and PRODUCES ALL WEALTH—the system which gives luxury and power to the drones and dooms the producers to poverty and subjection; your parties are offered by capitalists; capitalists turn your campaign funds; naturally, therefore, the officials elected by your parties to legislative, executive, or judicial office, local, state, or national, must serve capitalist interests.

"The Social Democratic Party is opposed to this whole capitalist system. It demands the collective ownership of the means of production which the working class collectively creates and operates—for everyone the right and duty to work, and TO THE WORKERS THE WHOLE VALUE OF THEIR PRODUCT. On every political question, the Social Democratic Party stands for the interests of the working class AGAINST the capitalist class and against BOTH your parties. It depends on the working class for financial support and appeals solely to the working class for support at the polls.

"Our campaign is one of education and organization, not a campaign of brass bands and fireworks, beer and food. DARE YOU MEET US ON THIS BASIS, to advance arguments, if you have any, why the workingmen of this district, should not vote the straight ticket of the Social Democratic Party?

"I would remind you that last year you, ignored a similar challenge and that the Social Democratic Party increased its vote in this district by EIGHTY-FIVE PER CENT. Should you again fail to meet the test, I can assure you that a greatly increased number of voters will rightly infer that you have no arguments to offer to thinking workingmen and will accordingly vote under the Arm and Torch.

"Awaiting your reply, I am, gentlemen, sincerely,
"ALGERNON I.E.E.
"W. E. A. (Subhouse, 295 E. 83rd street, Oct. 20.)"

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

YOUR PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Will You, Workingmen of New Jersey, Vote Again for the Parties that Drive Your Children into the Factories?—You Are Responsible for What Your Party Does.

From the Marxist executive and judiciary down to the meanest official in New Jersey and other states

PLANS WORKERS TAKE NOTICE.

The plans workers are on strike against the Passaic Company, Forty-third street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, New York City. The company's advertisements for helpers should be disregarded by all workingmen who do not wish to act as strike-breakers.

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BOSS TAILORS ATTACK UNIONS.

American Federation of Labor Asks Aid for Journeyman.

Circular of Merchant Tailors' Association Shows that, Backed by Manufacturers' Association, it is Trying to Maintain Sweatshop System.

The Executive Council of American Federation of Labor has issued a circular to organized labor, calling for help for the journeymen tailors in their defensive fight against the organized bosses of that trade who, backed by Mr. Parry's Manufacturers' Association, are trying to maintain the sweatshop system or to re-establish it where it has been done away with. We quote in part:

"The Merchant Tailors' Association of the United States, backed up by the Manufacturers' Association, are making war upon the organized Journeymen Tailors of the country, in the hope of crushing out unionism, and forcing the most miserable conditions as to wages, under the pretence of ranking workmen, and without regard to the check which organization imposes against avarice and injustice. Making the fight to refuse to furnish 'backshops' (shops in which the men can work), they thereby admit their purpose to return to the old system of tenement-house home-work. The following facts and appeal are earnestly commended to the serious, favorable, and sympathetic action of all members of organized labor. Read carefully to your organization.

On the last day of June of the present year the Merchant Tailors of Kansas City, Mo., submitted to the Journeymen Tailors in their employ the following communication:

"Believing it to be our mutual interest, the undersigned Merchant Tailors have resolved that in the future we will treat with our men as individuals only, and employ same as long as they meet our requirements. It is not our motive to reduce wages; on the contrary, we will pay more for the highest class of workmanship, thereby making it an incentive to excel; we decline to pay as much for poor work as the first-class men are justly entitled to. We also reserve the right to judge the class to which it belongs, and place the journeymen in their respective grades. We decline to furnish backshops, as past experience has proven them to be a detriment to the craft instead of a help. We will not put any restrictions on our men as to where they work, as we deem it very essential to the trade that we have apprentices."

About the same time an exactly similar communication was submitted to the members of the Tailors' Union in Birmingham, N. Y. Since that time the merchant Tailors of Cleveland, Denver, Chicago, Parkersburg, W. Va., Stockton, Cal., and other cities have taken exactly the same position as set forth in the Kansas City letter, refusing to treat with Committees of the Tailors' Unions, or to have any dealing with them as an organized body. While not saying so in words, yet in effect declaring that the Tailors' Unions must disband.

"The Journeymen Tailors were among the earliest pioneers of Organized Labor on this continent. Before the year 1890 they had some unions, and in the earlier years, running from 1890 to 1900, they formed probably more Local Unions on this continent than any other craft, and all through Trade Union history and development in this country the tailors have carried their share of the burden and performed their part of the pioneer work of the Trade Union Movement. In every effort that has been made to consolidate the Trade Union Movement into a Federation the Tailors have taken part, and an active one. They have been affiliated with the present American Federation of Labor since its foundation. They have never asked assistance of a financial character from the other Trade Unions of the country in all their history, but the Merchant Tailors' Protective Association, backed up by the Manufacturers' Association, of which body Mr. D. M. Parry is the president and president, has declared that the Journeymen Tailors of America must and shall be destroyed, and their actions in the cities cited above show that they intend to destroy the Tailors' International Union, if that is possible. Their members have been used in the courts for damages and their property attached; injunctions have been served upon them, and arrests of pickets have been made by the score. The expenses of the organization are, therefore, enormous, and they need the help of Organized Labor to meet them. If Organized Labor will respond in some way the same degree of liberality to assist the Tailors in their struggle that they did to assist the Anthracite Miners in theirs, the attempt to destroy their organization will not be successful.

"For several years the Journeymen Tailors have been struggling to do away with home and tenement house work. In this crusade they have met with a very great degree of success. Now comes the Merchant Tailors' Protective Association, backed up by the followers of Mr. Parry, and declares that the Tailors must give up working in the shops furnished by the employers, as is done in all other trades, and carry their work home to their kitchens to make. If the struggles of any organization are entitled to the sympathy and support of Organized Labor, surely this struggle of the Tailors for maintenance of their organization and for the abolition of the home

and tenement house work is exceedingly so.

"In a interview published in one of the leading papers the representatives of the Employing Tailors' Association, which was said to amount to a million and a half dollars, in order to successfully carry on their contest with the Journeymen Tailors. We feel assured that the organized workers in the United States and Canada will respond with sufficient liberality to make it impossible, even though the fanatics who are trying to destroy the Tailors' Union expend a million and a half, or even more."

FOR THE DAILY.

Active Work for the Globe to Be Renewed.

By the Opening of the Next Campaign We Should Have Our Own Daily to Break the Conspiracy of Silence or of Blatancy in the Capitalist Press.

The campaign for 1908 is now over and it behooves all comrades and friends of the Daily Globe project to start right in to work for the raising of the balance of the fund necessary for the establishment of the daily. Every Socialist in this campaign must have been impressed with the necessity for a daily Socialist paper on account of the campaign of silence by all the capitalist papers against the organized working-class party. Next year we are again confronted with a presidential election and it should be the earnest desire of every Socialist to see the New York Globe waging war against capitalism at the opening of that campaign. Comrades and friends, it lies with you. Let everyone make up his mind to begin at once to raise funds and to pay on pledges made. We must have the money and need the support both financially and by personal effort of every party member and sympathizer.

Comrades, begin at once. Send in your contributions or payments on pledges to Wm. Butcher, Secretary, Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth Street. The Board of Managers of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association will meet at the Labor Lyceum on Monday, Nov. 9, at 8 o'clock sharp. All members are urged to be prompt in attendance, as plans will be considered for furthering the interest of the Daily Globe.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association will resume its meetings, the first one to be called by the Board of Managers at Monday's meeting.

Funds received since last report are as follows:

CASH DONATIONS.

A. Gackebauer, Brooklyn.	\$3.00
Proceeds Globe booth at picnic.	60.00
Leather Workers' Union.	10.00
J. Martin, Newton Mass.	1.00
F. Medina, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Soldiers' Home, Bartlett, Cal.	1.00
Punch Cards, Los Angeles.	2.00
Cal.	0.00
Fair tickets, Jersey City, N.J.	8.40
Punch Cards 325-381.	1.40
D. L. 186, Kew-Forest, N.Y.	8.00
J. von Kummer, Camden, N.J.	.50
Fair goods sale.	2.00
Previously acknowledged.	1,806.17

CASH ON PLEDGES.

Murray Hill Agitation Committee.	\$1.00
Rich. Meade.	.25
Alex. Fraser, Brooklyn.	10.00
John Gibbons, Brooklyn.	2.00
Br. 17, Arb. Kr. & St. Kasse.	25.00
Hampel, Brooklyn.	.50
Swinson, Brooklyn.	.50
Br. 22, Arb. Kr. & St. Kasse.	50.00
Previously acknowledged.	3,164.50

Total cash on pledges.

Total cash.....	\$5,213.72
Workingmen's Co-operative Publish- ing Association.	
WM. BUTCHER, Secretary.	

RHODE ISLAND.

The Socialist Party Gains a Foothold and the S. L. P. Loses Ground.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Nov. 4.—The Socialist Party has gone through its first campaign in this little state, where the S. L. P. has heretofore had full possession of the field. We have polled 442 votes, and shall go to work at once to double the number next year.

The S. L. P. polled 970. Last year they had 1,268, and in the presidential election of 1900 they had 1,448. It is pleasing to observe that our gain is considerably more than the loss of the S. L. P., showing a net gain in Socialist strength.

WE WILL SPEAK OUT.

We will speak out, we will be heard, Though all earth's systems crack; We will not take a single word, Nor take a better back.

We speak the truth and what care we For pleasing and for scorn, While some faint pleading we can see Of freedom's coming morn.

Let bars fall; let comrades shrink, Let traitors turn away; Whatever we have dared to think That dare we also say.

—Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

ELECTION RETURNS COME IN SLOWLY.

Massachusetts Loses Part of Last Year's Big Gain, but New York Still Goes Forward.

Vigorous Anti-Socialist Campaign in the Bay State Swings Back One-Third of our Recruits of 1902 and Defeats Carey—New York State Vote Increases at Least Thirty-five per Cent.

It is impossible as yet accurately to report the result of the elections held last Tuesday, so far as they affect the Socialist movement, but some important information which may be regarded as approximately correct, is at hand.

It is certain that in the state of New York we have made very gratifying progress. Our state vote, when fully reported, will pretty certainly reach 30,000 and may go well above that figure. Considering that last year, after a much hotter campaign and with the advantage of the interest in labor politics by the great coal strike, we reached only 25,400, this result indicates a solid growth in Socialist thought. The greater part of this gain has been made outside of Greater New York. The city, which contributed more than two-thirds of last year's vote, has made a gain of about 12 per cent, and now gives about three-fifths of the total. The rest of the state has added from 60 to 100 per cent. to its Socialist Democratic vote of a year ago.

The S. L. P. has "grown backwards" in earnest. In Greater New York, where the S. L. P. last year polled 9,182, it has lost at least 3,400 votes and probably much more. Nor is the loss confined to the city. With some local exceptions, De Leon's vote seems to have gone back in every part of the state, and his total will hardly pass the ten thousand mark, if it even reaches that.

It is proverbial that in New York city elections the Socialist movement can make but little progress compared to that achieved in state and national contests. In the city election of 1907, when there was but the one party, it made but a very small gain over the vote cast in the city in 1903. In the next municipal election, that of 1901, the Socialist Democratic Party barely more than held the vote it had cast in 1900, while the S. L. P. went back about 20 per cent. A true comparison can be made only between city election and city election, and it is in this way that we give the figures below. Comparing the vote for the city ticket this year with that of 1901, the Socialist Democratic Party has made a creditable increase, while the S. L. P. has again lost.

In Massachusetts the results are not so pleasing. Carey has been defeated by a small plurality and Manchester's old district has been lost; Manchester has been re-elected. The vote for our state ticket has been reduced. It must be remembered that our state vote made an extraordinary jump last year, rising from about 10,000 in 1901 to over 23,800 in 1902. About one-third of the increase then made has proven to be unstable, in the face of the unopposed campaign against Socialism directed from Washington and concentrated on the Bay State.

Our returns from other states are very meager. Ohio seems to have made a good gain, following the extraordinary increase of last year. We have gained a foothold in Rhode Island where, as in New York, the S. L. P. has lost ground.

Such detailed returns as we have are given below.

IN THE STATE.

Reports from the Smaller Cities and Towns Indicate a Large Increase in the Socialist Democratic Vote and Heavy Losses for the S. L. P.

Reports so far received from "up the state" indicate that the vote of the Socialist Democratic Party is largely in line with that cast for Hanford, our candidate for Governor last year. The S. L. P. seems to have lost everywhere. It seems certain that De Leon's vote is not only lower than that of his party a year ago, but less than that of the preceding election in 1900. It is as yet impossible to estimate the extent to which Matchett's vote this year will exceed that for Hanford in 1902, but a large gain is assured. Hanford had 39,400, of which 16,482 was in Greater New York and 4,968 in the rest of the state. Twelve of the principal cities outside the metropolis report a total for Matchett of 7,250; the eleven counties in which these cities are situated gave Hanford 4,678 a year ago—showing a gain of 2,572 in those cities, besides the vote cast in outlying districts of the same counties. Bearing in mind that these cities are probably the ones in which our largest gains have been made, it seems well within the probabilities to say that the state outside this city has added from 4,500 to 5,000 to its vote of last year and that the total vote for our state ticket will be very nearly 30,000, if not more.

Rochester Gains Eleven Hundred.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 3.—Charles E. L. P. ticket, Socialist Democratic candidate for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, has 3,254 votes. De Leon, S. L. P. candidate for the same office, has 798. In last year's election, Benjamin Hanford, heading the state ticket of the Socialist Democratic Party, had 3,108 votes in the whole county, and the S. L. P. candidate had 804.

Charles R. Bach, Socialist Democratic candidate for Mayor, has 1,986, according to present reports, and the S. L. P. candidate has 264. In comparison with the city election of two

years ago, we gain about 700 votes and the S. L. P. loses.

Eight districts are missing. The official returns will probably somewhat increase our figures.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 4.—The Seventeenth Ward gives 886 for our candidate for Alderman, Slaviansky, 1,023 for the Republicans, and 1,000 for the Democrats.

Matchett for Mayor has 1,986 in the city and the S. L. P. candidate about 260.

Rome and Oneida.

ROME, N. Y., Nov. 3.—The Socialist Democratic Party has 123 votes here, a gain of 400 per cent.

UTICA, N. Y., Nov. 4.—This city is part of Oneida County, which gave 284 for Matchett and 290 for our legislative ticket. Last year we had 80 for Matchett.

Last year the whole of Oneida County, including Rome, was 147 and in 1900 it was 114.

ONEIDA, N. Y., Nov. 3.—We have 47 votes here and 27 in Canastota. The S. L. P. has 5 in Oneida.

Last year we had 56 in the whole of Madison County, which includes Oneida and Canastota, and the S. L. P. had 32.

In Fulton County.

JOHNSTOWN, N. Y., Nov. 3.—Matchett gets 272 votes here and De Leon 57.

GLOVERSVILLE, N. Y., Nov. 3.—The Socialist Democratic vote is 184. The S. L. P. 119.

A year ago the whole of Fulton County, including Johnstown and Gloversville, gave 455 for the Socialist Democratic Party and 172 for the S. L. P. Candidate.

Syracuse Gains Steadily.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Nov. 3.—The city gives Matchett 805 votes and the rest of the county adds 60, a total of 865 for Onondaga County.

In Onondaga County last year we had 367 and the S. L. P. had 454. In the preceding state election, that of 1900, we had 328 and the S. L. P. had 1,000.

Big Increase in Troy.

TROY, N. Y., Nov. 3.—Matchett has 374 votes and De Leon 80, with nine districts missing. Our straight vote is 770. Last year we had 211 for Hanford, head of our state ticket. Waterbury, head of our legislative ticket, gives 181 for Matchett and 39 for De Leon.

Rensselaer County gave 233 for Hanford last year and 430 for the S. L. P.

TROY, N. Y., Nov. 4.—Latest returns indicate that we shall have a thousand for Matchett. For Mayor we have 370.

And in Schenectady Also.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Nov. 3.—The Socialist Democratic vote is 405. The S. L. P. has 175.

Schenectady County as a whole last year gave 136 for the Socialist Democratic Party and 287 for the S. L. P.

CORNING, N. Y., Nov. 3.—Matchett has 90 and De Leon has 24.

ADIRONDACK, N. Y., Nov. 3.—The Socialist Democratic Party has 3 votes and the S. L. P. none. Last year each party had one.

HORNELLSVILLE, N. Y., Nov. 4.—Matchett has 50, a gain of 20. De Leon has 4, a loss of 11. Our local ticket runs from 54 to 58.

Steuben County gave us 185 last year and 105 for the S. L. P.

Buffalo Well in Line.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Nov. 3.—The Socialist Democratic Party has polled 800 votes here, a gain of 350.

The S. L. P. claims a vote of 462 in seventy-one of the one hundred and eight districts. Their total may reach 750.

After Onondaga County, Erie County, which includes the city of Buffalo, has been the principal stronghold of the S. L. P. for the last four years and the Socialist Democratic Party has had to work under great difficulties there, owing to the odium which the vile abuse and slander indulged in by the S. L. P. has thrown on the very name of Socialism.

The worst of this fight would now seem to be over. In the state election of 1900 the S. L. P. had 947 votes in Erie County and the Socialist Democratic Party 401; in that of 1902 the S. L. P. gained slightly, getting 1,081 and the Socialist Democratic Party rose to 508; the S. L. P. has now, apparently, fallen below its strength of three years ago, while we have made a second and much greater step forward.

Jameson Made a Record.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y., Nov. 3.—Matchett has 440 votes here and De Leon has 111.

Last year Chautauque County gave us 90 votes and the S. L. P. 194.

TIOGANDA, N. Y., Nov. 3.—The place gives 27 votes for Matchett and 16 for De Leon. Last year Essex County gave us 66 votes and 29 for the S. L. P.

WATERTOWN, N. Y., Nov. 3.—Matchett has 283 votes; De Leon has 55.

Last year Jefferson County gave 288 for the Socialist Democratic Party and 135 for the S. L. P.

SAG HARBOR, L. I., N. Y., Nov. 3.—The Socialist Democratic Party has 13 votes and the S. L. P. 12.

LINDENHURST, N. Y., Nov. 3.—

Fifteenth	108	185
Sixteenth	262	534
Seventeenth	83	121
Eighteenth	100	187
Nineteenth	62	85
Twentieth	74	114
Twenty-first	130	160
Twenty-second	98	305
Twenty-third	178	302
Twenty-fourth	234	352
Twenty-fifth	25	50
Twenty-sixth	807	610
Twenty-seventh	22	32
Twenty-eighth	454	656
Twenty-ninth	33	60
Thirtieth	521	776
Thirty-first	114	227
Thirty-second	245	589
Thirty-third	90	223
Thirty-fourth	206	534
Thirty-fifth	571	904
Annexed	50	92

Totals 6,400 11,091

The total vote for Brown, Socialist Democratic candidate for Comptroller, in the two boroughs is 11,543.

Managran, Socialist Democratic candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen, receives 11,362 in the two boroughs.

Boek, for President of the Borough of Manhattan has 9,778.

Cassidy, for Sheriff of New York County, including both boroughs, has 11,431.

S. L. P. LOSSES.

The heavy losses of the S. L. P. in the two boroughs are shown by the following table comparing the vote cast for De Leon, candidate for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, with that cast for the head of their state ticket in 1902.

Assembly Dist.	1902.	1903.
First	23	13
Second	87	80
Third	80	63
Fourth	170	116
Fifth	62	43
Sixth	141	80
Seventh	60	45
Eighth	150	85
Ninth	68	61
Tenth	282	182
Eleventh	78	53
Twelfth	351	177
Thirteenth	106	72
Fourteenth	106	66
Fifteenth	106	80
Sixteenth	106	80
Seventeenth	142	61
Eighteenth	82	67
Nineteenth	83	45
Twentieth	163	65
Twenty-first	120	87
Twenty-second	98	58
Twenty-third	182	91
Twenty-fourth	121	70
Twenty-fifth	38	34
Twenty-sixth	154	120
Twenty-seventh	37	27
Twenty-eighth	174	138
Twenty-ninth	36	20
Thirtieth	217	102
Thirty-first	178	88
Thirty-second	205	114
Thirty-third	105	119
Thirty-fourth	381	235
Thirty-fifth	424	245
Annexed	67	17

Totals 5,820 2,810

Hunter, the S. L. P. candidate for Mayor, received 3,238 votes in the two boroughs, as compared with 4,323 for Keeland, the S. L. P. candidate for the same office in 1901.

Manhattan and Bronx.

On State Ticket the Socialist Democratic Party has Gained 1,223 Votes in the Year and the S. L. P. Has Lost 2,910.

—Socialist Democratic City Ticket Gains 4,482 and S. L. P. Loses 1,085.

This table shows the vote cast in Manhattan and the Bronx for Matchett, Socialist Democratic candidate for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, as compared with that cast for Hanford, our candidate for Governor in the preceding state election, in 1902:

Assembly Dist.	1902.	1903.
First	23	19
Second	85	101
Third	62	68
Fourth	214	182
Fifth	65	73
Sixth	240	251
Seventh	78	100
Eighth	437	614
Ninth	84	104
Tenth	656	745
Eleventh	110	104
Twelfth	534	550
Thirteenth	162	162
Fourteenth	402	486
Fifteenth	168	145
Sixteenth	460	587
Seventeenth	123	129
Eighteenth	176	158
Nineteenth	85	118
Twentieth	128	131
Twenty-first	184	194
Twenty-second	138	222
Twenty-third	348	376
Twenty-fourth	378	375
Twenty-fifth	52	61
Twenty-sixth	581	623
Twenty-seventh	39	36
Twenty-eighth	628	602
Twenty-ninth	60	60
Thirtieth	939	889
Thirty-first	220	250
Thirty-second	440	631
Thirty-third	181	240
Thirty-fourth	496	628
Thirty-fifth	1,042	1,102
Annexed	136	142

Totals 10,965 12,114

VOTE FOR MAYOR.

Following is the vote cast in Manhattan and the Bronx for Furman, Socialist Democratic candidate for Mayor, as compared with that cast for Hanford, our candidate for the same office in the last city election, in 1901:

Assembly Dist.	1901.	1903.
First	4	19
Second	88	80
Third	38	72
Fourth	338	384
Fifth	42	61
Sixth	127	242
Seventh	41	82
Eighth	257	384
Ninth	56	95
Tenth	95	93
Eleventh	28	97
Twelfth	110	177
Thirteenth	317	468

FOR THE NEXT CAMPAIGN.

Our election returns are perhaps not yet complete enough for us to make any broad generalizations upon them. Yet it seems certain that, in general, where elections have been held, we have not made any considerable net gain over the record-breaking vote of 1902—that the losses in Massachusetts and probably in other states not yet reported will counterbalance the increase in New York, Ohio, and some other localities.

Many comrades and sympathizers will doubtless be deeply disappointed at such returns and some, not yet seasoned by experience, may incline to be discouraged.

To them we would suggest the taking of a larger view, a view extending over more than two successive elections. Even in Massachusetts, where we have fared worst, our vote this week is two and a half times as great as it was two years ago. The increase of 1902, we now see, was partly a sporadic and unstable increase, due largely to the excitement and indignation caused by the coal strike. That two-thirds of our converts of 1902 remain firm in face of the extraordinary efforts put forth by the organized capitalists of the land to crush Socialism in Massachusetts is, perhaps, to be counted as a striking evidence of the vitality of our movement.

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SHALL THE UNIONS GO INTO POLITICS?

By John Spargo.

In every labor union in the land, and in well nigh every lodge of the powerful organizations of the "skilled" trades no less than of the less powerful organizations of "unskilled" workers—this question is being raised and discussed with an intensity of earnestness which alone would be sufficient to mark it as the most urgent and important question of the time.

But the full significance of the question only becomes apparent to us when we remember that it is generally conceded by all intelligent trade unionists, quite irrespective of their attitude upon the particular proposal before us, that the trade union movement has been called upon to face a great and unforeseen peril, which it is claimed by the advocates of political action, cannot otherwise be overcome. There is no escaping the fact that it is a question of the most vital importance to every trade union and to every individual member of every union. It is a question which we cannot ignore without the most serious risks, and the "labor leader" who would ignore it, who, petrich like, would bury his head in the sand of fear, prejudice and unreason, is entitled to lead any body of men. A candid and absolutely fearless discussion of the question is above everything else necessary.

The advocates of this new departure are, almost without exception, believers in what is called the theory of the class struggle. They say that history is but the record of struggles for supremacy between classes with opposing interests. The labor movement to them is nothing more nor less than the struggle of the oppressed working class.

But the opponents of the proposal to adopt political methods deny that there is such a class division. They denounce the men who talk of a class struggle, and themselves talk eloquently of the "real identity of interest" existing between the workers and their employers. And the employers and their representatives, just like some workers and their representatives, are continually talking in the same strain. Upon the idea of the existence of such unity of interests (the Federation and Conciliation Boards have been formed at which capitalist-like Senator Marcus Hanna and labor men like Mr. John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers Union have joined together in stargazing the same time. To them it is only a question of misunderstanding each other, this great and ever present industrial strife. If this view is the correct one let us know it, and if it is not the correct view let us know it. And in either case let us make known the result of our investigations.

Why Do We Organize?

Let us get down to fundamentals, to bottom principles. Why do we organize? Why was the first union started and why do we pay our money to maintain unions now?

The first union was started because the men who started it did not understand their employers, or were misunderstood by them. The explanation involves a deeper insight into things than that. The facts were somewhat as follows. When the individual workman, realizing that out of his labor, and the labor of his fellows, came the wealth and luxury of his employer, demanded better wages, or shorter hours, or better conditions of labor, he was met with a reply something like this from his employer, "You are not like this job and my terms you can quit, for there are plenty of others outside who are ready to take your place." The employer understood the position of his workman, that he was dependent upon the job which he, the employer, controlled; otherwise he could not have made such a reply. And the worker understood perfectly well that so long as the employer had the power to discharge him and to fill his place with another he was powerless. It is an unequal combat.

Nothing remained for the individual workman but to join his fellows in a collective and united effort, organizations of workers now appeared and the employers could not dismiss the matter so lightly. When the workers organized they could take advantage of the fact that there were no organizations of the employers. Every strike added to the ordinary terrors of competition. The manufacturer whose men threatened a strike often surrounded himself with a host of all that his trade in the event of a suspension of work, would be snatched by his rival in business, and so, by playing upon the inherent weakness of the competitive system as it affected the employers, the workers gained many substantial advantages. There is no doubt whatever that under these conditions, we, the wage-working class, got better wages, better working conditions and a reduction of hours. But there was an important limitation of our power—we could not absorb the "man outside"; we could not find a job for every man. That is the essential condition of the capitalist system under which we live and work. Here indeed are the times when all the available workers in any given time have been employed, and the time has never yet been when all the available workers in all trades were employed.

Capitalists United Now.
Still, notwithstanding this important limitation, it is incontrovertible, it seems to me that we were benefited by our organization to no small extent.

work upon our jobs we were beaten. The employers' workers' culture, thus, the reverse arm of the capitalist class. To his employment there was but one obstacle—our resentment and rage. A hundred times, maddened to the point of violence, we showered anathemas and blows upon the "scab." And the employers could only use the "scab" so long as they could protect him. This was not the only cause of violence, however, for not infrequently the employers themselves deliberately provoked violence for reasons of their own. For one thing it was a convenient method by which public sympathy might be alienated from our cause. Then, too, sometimes in desperation we resorted to violence not because of the employment of "scabs," but to obtain food. Particularly did this happen in cases of lockouts when we were resisting attempts to cut down our all too scanty wages. But whatever the cause of the disturbance and violence the result was the same: in thousands of cases all the powers of government—police, militia, and federal troops, have been used against us. In every state in the Union this has occurred, no matter which political party happened to be in power. From the "bull pens" of Idaho and Colorado; from the coal fields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia; from Haverhill, Mass., to New York, Pittsburgh, Omaha, St. Louis—in a word, from almost every industrial center, the blood of workers who have been shut down at the shambles hours witness to the terrible fact that the powers of government have always been used on the side of the employers.

Further than this, we have had to face the still more powerful opposition of the makers and the interpreters of the law. No more powerful blows have ever been directed against us than those which have been directed by the judges from their proud position and in the name of justice. Injunction upon injunction has been issued, robbing us of the most elementary rights of manhood and citizenship. To serve the interests of our masters there have ever been judges ready to declare illegal what the constitution and statute law have declared legal; and when laws have been enacted which gave us some slight advantage, some little improvement in our condition, they have promptly declared it "unconstitutional." And now, as a climax, following the decisions of the British House of Lords, they are sequestering our funds. The employers were not slow in setting the judges of this country to work upon the lines laid down in the famous *Taff Vale* railway case. In the *Taff Vale* case the English railway workers had to pay damages to the extent of \$115,000 to the railroad company, who claimed that they were entitled to recover the losses sustained by them in the strike which the men had waged against them. It is said, Vt., a lodge of the Machinists' Union has been ordered to pay, under like circumstances, \$2,500. A writ was served upon every other man in the lodge and the property of every one of them was attached. In Danbury, Conn., the American Federation of Labor and the United Hatters of North America have been sued for \$50,000 damages, the suit being directed against the right to boycott and even the use of the union label as a means of discriminating against "scab" products. The bookbinders of Chicago have been sued for \$30,000, and in the same city the building trades union for \$50,000, the brass workers and electrical workers for \$30,000. Altogether there are suits pending against labor unions for considerably over \$1,000,000. That a large number of them will be decided against the unions is a foregone conclusion.

Don't Scab on Election Day!

Now, there can be no escaping the fact that the strongest weapons at the disposal of the master class are the political weapons, bribe, bullet and injunction, which have been so effective in breaking strikes in every industry and crippling our organizations. Equally there can be no doubt whatever that whoever aids the masters to maintain control of these weapons aids them to defeat every attempt we make to better our condition by organization. WE CALL THE MAN WHO HELPS THE EMPLOYER TO DEFEAT US BY GOING TO WORK ON ELECTION DAY A SCAB. IN THE SHOP AFTER WE HAVE DECLARED A STRIKE A SCAB. BUT WHAT SHALL WE SAY OF THE MAN WHO GOES INTO THE BALLOT BOX AND HELPS HIM THERE TO DEFEAT US AND BREAK UP OUR UNIONS? IS HE NOT ALSO A SCAB?

Aye, "scab" he is of the most dangerous type imaginable. "Scab" he is even though he may carry a union card and his every gesture bears the union label. The trade union movement has far less to fear from the man who "scabs" at the factory or mine than from the man who "scabs" at the ballot box. And the fact is that the most dangerous kind of a "scab," the man who "scabs" on election day, is not yet regarded as a "scab," but may, indeed, be the most trusted officer in the labor movement. So little do we realize the tremendous importance of this that we are willing to condone the most harmful and dangerous form of "scabbing" while condemning the lesser form of it. Not till we learn this lesson, that labor's worst foe is within its own ranks, giving its strongest weapons to the enemy, shall we be able to rise free and redeemed from the curse of ill-paid toil.

Strike at the Ballot Box!

The leaders of the trade unions which are opposed to the adoption of a definite political program cry out that it will destroy the unions. If so, it would still be better for us to destroy them than that the masters have the chance to do it. And there is absolutely no question that they will do it if they continue with their injunction and their raids upon our funds. But what nonsense to say that we shall destroy the unions by taking from the master class the power to hurl injunctions at them, to attack their treasuries and shoot us who are members of them! Could there be folly greater than the timid wisdom of these men? They cry out that Socialists are destroyers of the unions, and all the while they are supporting and urging us by the rank and file to support by continuing to vote for interests other than our immediate ones, the very forces which are NOW destroying the unions. The Socialists who are urging this question upon the attention of their fellow trade unionists, appealing from the fear and cowardice of the "leaders" to the courage and faith of the rank and file, are beginning to see the result of their labors. The day is not far distant, its dawn-strokes are already appearing, when in every labor organization the cry will be heard—"We must strike at the ballot box! We must strike to break our chains; to become masters of our own lives; of our own bread; of our own tools; of the fruits of our own toil!"

The Socialist movement—the Socialist Party—will save trade unionism and lead its hosts to victory in the strike of strikes; the strike of class conscious and class loyal workers at the ballot box.

"Shall the unions go into politics?" Yes! to save themselves. The blood of the murdered dead upon a thousand hills, from *Cour D'Alene* to *Haverhill*, and from *New York* to *San Francisco*, cries for vengeance, and if we must avenge it there is but this answer.

Yes! Helpless babes in the mills cry for succor, and if we would succor them we must answer this question with an unmistakable Yes!

WARNING!

Plano and organ workers are urged to requested to stay away from the works of the Pease Piano Company, Forty-third street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, New York City, as the men are on strike.

By order of The Executive Board of the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of Greater New York.

FOR THE DAILY.

The Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association will meet at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, Wednesday, Nov. 13, at 8 p. m. sharp, for the election of officers and managers and for the transaction of such other business as may come before it.

FEDERATION CONVENTION.

President Gompers' Report Marks No Advance.

In the Face of Changed Conditions and New Dangers, He Supports the Old Policy of Timid Conservatism—Vigorous Discussion Expected.

We do not attempt this week to give any detailed account of the sessions of the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, which met on Monday and whose first days are largely taken up with work of a routine character.

President Gompers' annual report, while showing a considerable increase in the membership of affiliated bodies, certainly did not mark any advance on his part over the timid conservative policy of past years. In fact, the document is even duller and more spiritless than those of 1902 and 1901.

At considerable length, President Gompers dwells on the industrial depression that looms so large in the immediate future. He recognizes that the usual cutting of wages has already begun and advises that it be resisted.

Beyond this he has nothing to say on the subject, never suggesting that the workers might try to find a means to put an end to the weary alternation of periods of overwork and periods of hungry idleness.

He declares emphatically against the tendency to "industrial organization" and urges the delegates to adhere to the old system and "hew to trade union lines," and incidentally to this he makes a general declaration against sympathetic strikes.

He makes a formal argument against the "open shop," but significantly omits all reference thereto in the address and President Roosevelt's decision.

The record of lobbying is the name of day. Record of day for day—Eight Hour Bill defeated, Anti-injunction Bill turned inside out, Immigration Bill not passed in the form desired by the unions, the few existing labor laws violated and "representations" thereon to the President of the United States met with the usual assurance that they will be "taken under consideration," complaints of abuses of power in the other two districts of the country, Lehner and Haas, 407 and 220, respectively, the S. L. P. has 164 in the First and had no candidate in the Second. A. F. of L. candidates, our candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court, is credited with 673 in the county and our other candidates on the county ticket with 635 to 652, the S. L. P. candidates getting from 243 to 267.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Nov. 8.—Matchet has 432 votes, a gain of 284 for the Socialist Democratic Party. De Leon has 203, a loss of 84 for the S. L. P.

PLAIN WORDS TO GOMPERS.

The following is the text of a letter addressed by Carpenters' Union No. 330 to the President of the American Federation of Labor and here published by request of the union:

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:
Dear Sir—In reply to your circular letter dated Sept. 7, 1903, requesting us to advise you of the action taken by our body, we have resolved to vote for neither capitalist party, but we shall endeavor with all our means to obtain and capture the legislative as well as the executive powers, to spare the working class the degradation, as recommended by you, of begging capitalist politicians to help us to get what we deem are our rights.

"It ought to be expected that, through your long experience as president of a large confederation of workers, people you are convinced of the fruitless efforts of your tactics, which tend to divert the workmen of America of all self-esteem and independence and are certainly corrupting the fidelity of their political convictions.

"We have always sacrificed much and stand ready to sacrifice more for an eight-hour day for everybody, but we must state that much doubt exists as to the honesty of your actions, as you and other officers of the A. F. of L. have granted privileges to the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union to undermine our success in regard to the eight-hour day, as these scabs have not only occupied the places of our striking and locked-out members, but also strive to enter into agreements with our bosses to work for them for lower wages and 54 hours weekly, where the standard of 44 hours has been established by our organization.

"Therefore, the 1,300 members of this local union have assembled in a special meeting and resolved to lay your letter on the table until such time when the A. F. of L. will advocate such a course as will lead the working class of this republic out of the slavery to economic as well as political freedom, to which the most useful members of our community are certainly entitled.

"Yours respectfully,
"BENJ. FRIED, Sec'y.
"For L. U. No. 300, U. B. of C. and J."

NEW YORK VOTE.

Official Returns for Eighteen Counties Now In.

Almost Without Exception, They Show Gain for the Social Democratic Party and Losses for the De Leonite Faction.

Complete returns of the vote cast for Matchet on the Social Democratic state ticket and for De Leon on that of the S. L. P. have been received from the county clerks. These figures are given in the following tables, compared with the number of votes cast in each county for the head of the state ticket of each party in 1900 and in 1902.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE.

Counties.	1900.	1902.	1903.
Albany	12	35	60
Albany	47	90	93
Chemung	42	26	304
Essex	44	68	74
Genesee	27	83	127
Madison	69	56	102
Orange	28	142	230
Saratoga	24	14	12
Schoharie	15	43	85
Schenectady	4	5	14
Schuyler	2	2	9
Seneca	8	10	63
Suffolk	39	45	148
Sullivan	3	5	25
Washington	24	117	74
Wayne	14	29	60
Westchester	288	700	761
Wyoming	6	6	20

S. L. P. LOSSES.

Counties.	1900.	1902.	1903.
Albany	14	45	27
Albany	57	194	106
Chemung	137	40	47
Essex	12	29	41
Genesee	66	48	35
Madison	49	32	25
Orange	7	187	301
Saratoga	20	97	63
Schoharie	6	4	10
Schenectady	6	6	5
Seneca	31	28	42
Suffolk	33	48	61
Sullivan	7	6	15
Washington	21	85	20
Wayne	8	20	15
Westchester	410	537	802
Wyoming	11	18	23

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., Nov. 6.—We lost 15 votes in this village, getting 101 for Matchet as against 116 for Hanford last year, in the outgoing districts of Verplanck's Point, Chateaufort and Montrose, we have 27, as against 24 last year; in the whole town of Cortland we have 123, a gain of 10. De Leon has 28 in Peekskill, a loss of 20, and 6 in the rest of the town, a gain of 14—24 in all, as against 63 a year ago. We shall start at once and get in shape for 1904.

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., Nov. 7.—In the Third Assembly District of Westchester County, our candidate, John J. Heleker, Jr., has 150 votes, a gain of 31; the S. L. P. has 65, a heavy loss. Unofficial reports give our candidates in the other two districts of the county, Lehner and Haas, 407 and 220, respectively; the S. L. P. has 164 in the First and had no candidate in the Second. A. F. of L. candidates, our candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court, is credited with 673 in the county and our other candidates on the county ticket with 635 to 652, the S. L. P. candidates getting from 243 to 267.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Nov. 8.—Matchet has 432 votes, a gain of 284 for the Socialist Democratic Party. De Leon has 203, a loss of 84 for the S. L. P.

NEBRASKA AND IOWA.

OMAHA, Neb., Nov. 7.—Every place heard from in Nebraska, except one, shows an increase. These are Blair, Dakota, Grand Island, Memphis, Pender and Plattsmouth. In South Omaha, which is also in Douglas County, a gain of 152 is reported, while in Omaha proper 800 or 700 of increase is conceded. The county may therefore double its vote for the state ticket last year, and if the same increase already reported from the small towns outside in other places the state vote may be doubled.

From Iowa reports are that the vote has decreased in Dubuque, Davisport, and Sioux City, but in many smaller towns the vote climbs appreciably. Notable among these are Clifton, Hite-man, Keh, Logan, Missouri Valley, Muscatine, Waterloo and Grinnell. In Dubuque County a bitter fight was made against the party by the Catholic church and newspapers.

The Socialist Party had 3,187 votes in Nebraska last year and 6,300 in Iowa.

NEW JERSEY RETURNS.

CAMDEN, N. J., Nov. 7.—The Socialist Party raises its vote here from 121 in 1902 to 350 this year. We have worked hard and see the results of our labors.

WEST NEW YORK, N. J., Nov. 6.—The Socialist Party casts 58 votes here, as against 20 last year. In three wards which give us 88 the S. L. P. has 100.

GATFIELD, N. J., Nov. 8.—In this township, part of Bergen County, we raise our vote from 21 to 35. The S. L. P. had no ticket.

RIDGEFIELD PARK, N. J., Nov. 8.—This place, in Bergen County, gives the S. L. P. 26 votes; last year 31. The S. L. P. had 6 last year and none this time.

WESTFIELD, N. J., Nov. 7.—We have 22 votes here. The S. L. P. has 8. Last year we had 45 and the S. L. P. 8. A part of the town has been cut out during the year, so no fair comparison can be made till we have returns for the whole of Union County.

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 8.—The

County Clerk's statement gives the following figures for the Socialist vote in Essex County:

Socialist Party: For Board of Works—Edw. C. Wind, 794; Geo. A. Klepe, 790; For Trustee of the City Home, David Rubinow, 810; For Assemblymen, from 971 to 974.

S. L. P.: For Board of Works, 579 and 583; For Trustee of the City Home, 586; For Assemblymen, from 714 to 718.

Last year our candidates for the Assembly had from 1,144 to 1,148 and those of the S. L. P. from 811 to 814.

The official canvass may improve our showing slightly. It is certain that in many districts our votes were either counted for the S. L. P. or not counted at all—because we did not have watchers enough. The result shows the need of better organization, stricter system in our work, every man armed and on the line of battle. Now is the time to prepare on this basis for next year's conflict.

PATERSON, N. J., Nov. 10.—The County Clerk gives the following statement of the vote of the Socialist Party in Passaic County: For Senator, Wm. Glass, 330; for Sheriff, Jerome Fulhaber, 330; For Assemblymen, from 324 to 386; for Mayor of Paterson, G. A. Neustadt, 215. The S. L. P. has from 255 to 261 votes for its Assembly candidates and 207 in Paterson for Mayor. Last year we had 324 for Congress and from 438 to 441 for Congress and the S. L. P. had 207 for Congress and from 352 to 360 for Assembly.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Nov. 7.—The seventh precinct of the Tenth Ward gives us 22 votes, a gain of one; the S. L. P. has 4, a loss of 10.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ERIE, Pa., Nov. 7.—This city gives 578 votes for the head of the Socialist state ticket, with from 560 to 595 for our other state candidates and from 580 to 637 for our local candidates. The rest of the county gives 42 for our state ticket, bringing the total up to 618.

This means that we have not, in this very quiet campaign, held the extraordinary gains that we made last year in the excitement and indignation of the coal strike. In 1900 we had 253 votes in the county. In 1901, owing to the trick that deprived us of our place on the ballot, we had no way of fairly testing our real strength. Last year we had 1,507. Our vote of 618, therefore, shows that we are making real progress, even when exceptional circumstances do not favor us.

MILWAUKEE, Pa., Nov. 8.—The candidates of the Socialist Party polled 73 votes here, a gain of 21. The S. L. P. (Anti-De Leon) had 2.

YONK, Pa., Nov. 8.—Unofficial reports give us 248 votes, as against 288 a year ago. The total vote was very light.

DIQUENNE, Pa., Nov. 8.—The Socialist Party has 74 votes for the state ticket and 73 for the county ticket; of these 70 were straight. A year ago we had 29 for our state ticket.

WILKES-BARRE, Pa., Nov. 7.—While we do not hold the whole of the extraordinary vote of last year—as, indeed, we had no expectation of doing, it has given largely a protest vote, due to the strike—we keep our official standing and have about three times as large a vote as in the presidential election. The vote for the state ticket of the Socialist Party runs from 707 to 903, the highest being for the head of the ticket. Our county candidates get from 875 to 1,085, the lowest being for District Attorney and the highest for Clerk of Courts. In the Third Ward of Duquesne and the Eighth Ward of Nanticoke we have a majority.

HARRISBURG, Pa., Nov. 7.—We polled 60 votes in this city for the Socialist ticket. This is 21 votes more than was polled in the whole of Dauphin County last year.

CHARLESTON, Pa., Nov. 7.—The Socialist Party received twenty-two votes in this town. Our percentage is higher than last year.

Armstrong County cast 82 votes for state ticket, a gain of 32.

Hucks County vote was 60, a gain of 44 over last year.

Columbia County looms up with an increase of 52 votes over last year. Columbia County gave state ticket 45 votes, an increase of 9 votes.

Fayette County cast 104 votes for our ticket, a gain of 10 over last year. Lebanon County increased its vote to 15 last year.

Sullivan County polled 13 votes. Last year there was not one vote cast in the county for our ticket.

Venango County polled 60 votes for the Socialist Party, an increase of 8.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

RICHMOND, Va., Nov. 8.—The Socialist Party has 155 votes here. Last year we had 23. The total vote was 2,167.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 8.—Crabill, Socialist candidate for Governor of Maryland, is credited with 807 votes in Baltimore and Beckham, for Attorney General, with 1,894. Washington County, including Hagerstown, gives us 82 straight votes, as against 11 last year. Allegany County gives us 184, a gain. The vote in the state will undoubtedly run above 2,500, assuring us official recognition. Practically no work was done outside of Baltimore and Washington County, but our gain is general. At the last general election our vote was 908. The ballot is very confusing. The voter has to make twenty marks to vote a straight ticket.

FROM THE FAR WEST.

RUGBY, Colo., Nov. 4.—The Socialist Party polls 12 votes here to 10 for the S. L. P. 7 Democratic and 4 Republican. If every city, town, and

"TO FIGHT THE LABOR UNIONS."

Likewise to Meet "the Imminent Danger of Socialism."

That, Says the New York "Times" Is the Object of the Citizens' Industrial Association, a New Adjunct of Parry's Society.

From the New York "Times" of last Sunday we take the following account of the aims and methods of the Citizens' Industrial Association, a newly organized adjunct of Mr. Parry's National Association of Manufacturers.

"It is the purpose of J. P. Hoke of Brooklyn, who was chosen Third Vice-President of the newly organized Citizens' Industrial Association, to use all the means within his power to induce business men and others to join the movement and give it hearty support. Mr. Hoke, who is Secretary of the Manufacturers' Association of the City of New York, was seen at his office in Montague street, Brooklyn, after his return from the Chicago conference, several days ago, and said:

"To preface and qualify anything which I may be quoted as saying, I must ask that you report my interview as being purely personal and unofficial. If I understand the object of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, it is to do things rather than to air itself as to what it intends to do. This, of course, implies the existence of conditions requiring action. The one thing which should impress itself upon every thoughtful citizen is the imminent danger of Socialism, or, rather, the set of agitators (labor and others) who claim to represent Socialism. From the testimony of reliable witnesses from all parts of the country, we have a cancer upon the body politic which must be cut out or it will work the ruin of our country. The time has come to call a halt to organized lawlessness, and not only to call that halt, but also to impress upon the Judiciary the demand for full and complete execution of the law without fear or favor."

[For lack of space we have to omit some harrowing tales of violence alleged to have been committed by workmen who objected to having scale imported to take their jobs and drive them on the road to starve until they were willing to scab in their turn.]

"Our association stands for the principle that every man, woman, or child in the United States shall have the right to work or not to work, and that this right must be maintained if it takes every holder in the United States to do it.

"Everybody is familiar by this time, I think, with the position taken by D. M. Parry, and his reply to the labor leaders in Indianapolis was the keynote. The Citizens' Industrial Association convention comprised representatives of a number of different industrial organizations, and various views were expressed. But I think you may say that the association was, roughly parodied, as shown by our selecting him for president, although it was not his desire to take the position. He consented to serve only because he has the cause at heart."

"Mr. Hoke urges that all who are in accord with the movement affiliate with some of the associations which have a representation

PARTY NEWS.

October Financial Report.

The National Secretary's financial report for the month of October shows total receipts of \$1,571.41, of which \$104.76 was for dues from organized states, \$60.10 from local unorganized states, \$138.65 for the Special Organizing Fund, \$44.40 from sale of supplies, \$78.96 from Hoffman's tour, and \$29.65 from miscellaneous sources. Expenditures for the month were \$1,723.40. The balance on Oct. 1 was \$1,029.50. The balance on Nov. 1 was \$777.42.

Receipts for dues were as follows: Alabama, \$10; Arizona, \$15; Arkansas, \$10; California, \$62.15; Colorado, \$15; Connecticut, \$34.25; Illinois, \$70; Indiana, \$40; Iowa, \$25; Kentucky, \$19; Massachusetts, \$75; Michigan, \$25; Minnesota, \$25; Missouri, \$50; Montana, \$10; New Hampshire, \$29.40; New Jersey, \$70; New York, \$140; Oklahoma, \$18.55; Ohio, \$50; Oregon, \$7.50; Pennsylvania, \$100; Texas, \$11.50; Vermont, \$5; Wisconsin, \$90.75; from local unorganized states: Delaware, \$1; Georgia, 10 cents; Indian Territory, \$7.30; Louisiana, \$10; Maryland, \$5.80; Nevada, \$1; North Carolina, 10 cents; Rhode Island, \$4; South Carolina, \$1.10; Tennessee, \$0.10; Virginia, \$4.60; West Virginia, \$8.10; Wyoming, \$6.50; Washington, D. C., \$2; members-at-large, 20 cents.

The principal items of expense were: Salaries—Wm. Malloy, \$50; W. E. Clark, \$75; office help, \$100; on old debts of Springfield N. E. C. Chas. H. Yell, \$40; debts of Chicago N. E. H. A. A. Edwards, \$40; expenses of National Committee meeting, \$44.25; agitation and organization (tours of Guellet, Ray, Higdon, Bennett, Hyland, Towser, Brown, and Toole, and grants for special purposes to state committees of New York, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Connecticut), \$154.23; donation to Haverhill campaign fund, \$50.

The report indicates a decreasing membership of 20,554. The National Secretary says: "Now that the state elections are over, this number of members should be increased so that the Socialist Party can enter the campaign next year with every acknowledged Socialist in its ranks."

Organizers and Lecturers.

Charles H. Malloch of New York will all dates arranged for him by the National Secretary at Philadelphia, Nov. 12, and at Washington, D. C., Nov. 14.

Winfield H. Gaylord, State Organizer for Wisconsin, will fill several lecture dates during December in Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, on his way to Florida to attend the National Congress for several weeks. James F. Carey of Massachusetts will under a promise to take a Western touring tour under the direction of the national headquarters in case he was defeated for reelection to the Massachusetts Legislature. Arrangements will now be made to have this tour begin in January if possible.

John W. Brown of Connecticut, taking up the tour of Ben Hanford, who had to leave the road on account of sickness, began his work in the West on Nov. 8 at Portland, Me., and dates are: Nov. 10, North Platte, Neb.; Nov. 11, Gering, Neb.; Nov. 12, Mitchell, Neb.; Nov. 14, Cheyenne, Wyo.; Nov. 15, Denver, Colo.; Nov. 17, California; Nov. 19, Aspen, Neb.; Nov. 21, Orono, Neb.; Nov. 23 and 24, Albuquerque, N. M. After filling several dates in Arizona, Brown will enter California.

George E. Higdon will close in Arkansas on Nov. 18 and fill two dates in the Indian Territory before entering Oklahoma for three weeks.

George H. Toole will work in Texas on Nov. 24, visiting Louisiana next day to work for two weeks before returning home for Christmas and a rest.

M. W. Wilkins begins in Montana at Kalispell on Nov. 11, under the direction of State Secretary Conroy, and will remain in that state for two months.

Mary M. McKee returns from Arizona to work in the Northern districts of California.

John M. Ray will get through in Tennessee on Nov. 11 and enter Georgia to stay there until next Christmas.

P. J. Hyland will close in Wyoming on Nov. 17 or 18 and probably return to Omaha.

Chas. G. Towser will work in the Northern district of Virginia, where good results are promised, and make a state organization possible.

Actions of National Committee.

The National Secretary reports the action of the National Committee upon several motions, mostly concerning the question of Mills' conduct in speaking for the bogus Socialist Propaganda Club in Omaha, as follows:

Dobbs of Kentucky moved: "That Comrade Work of Iowa and Christensen of Nebraska prepare a statement of the case against Mills, with his reply or explanation, the same to be transmitted to the Kansas State Committee with a request for action on the same." The vote stands: Yes—White of Connecticut, Healey of Florida, Dobbs of Kentucky, Fox of Montana, Clavin of New Hampshire, Hallock of Oklahoma, Barnes of Pennsylvania, and Roemer of Washington—8; No—Florent of Colorado, Miller of Idaho, Work of Iowa, Mills of Kansas, Talbot of Minnesota, Christensen of Nebraska, Hillquit of Ohio, and Kerrigan of Texas—0; not voting—Richardson of California, Berlyn of Illinois, Reynolds of Indiana, Fox of Maine, Carey of Massachusetts, Turner of Missouri, Guellet of New Jersey, Massey of North Dakota, Lovett of South Dakota, Berner of Wisconsin—10. The motion is lost.

Christensen of Nebraska moved: "That the National Committee express its disapproval of Comrade Mills' and Critchlow's actions in the matter as unworthy of Socialist Party members, and particularly members holding responsible official positions, and as injurious to the movement of the party in Nebraska and the Socialist movement at large; that members of the party, whether acting in an official

capacity or otherwise, are expected to uphold the laws laid down in the National Constitution, Section 4, Article 6 included, and to observe the rules and regulations of state and local organizations where they may reside, whether permanent or temporary; and that state and local organizations are recommended to enact such laws as will guarantee the enforcement of the National Constitution, and particularly Section 4, Article 6 of same, and be prepared to act at once and effectively upon any violation of state autonomy committed by a member in any other state than that in which the violation of said law holds membership." The vote stands: Yes—White, Fox (Mont.), Christensen, Hillquit, Hallock, Barnes, Kerrigan, Roemer—8; No—Florent, Healey, Miller, Work, Dobbs, Mills, Talbot, Clavin, Critchlow—9; not voting—Richardson, Berlyn, Reynolds, Fox (Me.), Carey, Turner, Guellet, Massey, Lovett, Berger—10. The motion is lost.

Mills of Kansas moved: "That the motions of Comrade Christensen and Dobbs be declared out of order." The vote stands: Yes—Turner, Mills, Clavin, Massey, Critchlow, Guellet, Lovett—7; No—Richardson, Florent, White, Healey, Berlyn, Work, Dobbs, Fox (Mont.), Christensen, Hallock, Barnes, Kerrigan, Roemer, Berger—14; not voting—Miller, Fox (Me.), Carey, Hillquit—4. The motion is lost. The National Secretary asked instructions as to whether Mills and Critchlow might vote on questions affecting themselves and was answered in the affirmative by a vote of 18 to 3 (Florent, Clavin, and Kerrigan voting against), with Miller, Fox (Me.), Carey, Hallock, and Berger not voting.

Richardson of California moved: "That if P. J. Hyland, as a member of the last state convention of Nebraska, was elected to the proposed position requiring that 90 per cent. of the applicants for a local charter be wage-workers, he be not commissioned as a national organizer for any state or territory whatsoever. This motion is lost by a vote of 21 to 3—Richardson, Turner, and Kerrigan supporting it, and Miller, Reynolds, and Fox (Me.) not voting.

Work's motion to abandon the campaign book project is carried by a vote of 14 to 7.

Questions now submitted to the National Committee are:

Motion by Mills: "That the matter of the protest or charges of the Local Quorum of the state of Nebraska against himself be declared out of order."

Questions submitted on request of Critchlow: "1. Is National Committee-man Critchlow of Ohio guilty of any breach of party tactics, principles, or responsibilities as preferred in the charges against him by the Nebraska Local Quorum? 2. If guilty, what punishment is to be accorded him?"

Motion by Kerrigan: "That the meeting of the National Committee to be held in January, 1904, be passed and that the National Secretary be instructed to take such steps as are necessary to ascertain if this be the wish of the party at large."

The vote of the National Committee on these matters will close on Nov. 30. Three motions have been made on the Louisiana affair reported last week: By Talbot, that the action of the Louisiana comrades be condoned; and the other, granted; by Work, that the charter be withheld until the negro clause is eliminated from the state platform; by White, that the charter be withheld till all declarations regarding separation or discrimination against the negro race be formally withdrawn or repudiated by the state membership. These motions are not yet submitted for action, as the Louisiana comrades are considering their course and may voluntarily change their decision.

The National Secretary referred to the Quorum on two propositions from A. W. Hyland, that the National Committee assume the publication of the "Appeal to Reason" and that the National Secretary appoint a cashier for that paper.

Last Monday was the day set for closing the vote of the National Committee on the proposed form of circular for submitting to the membership of the party an amendment to the national constitution of the party providing for proportional representation of states in the National Committee.

It is proposed to amend the first division of Article I, Section 1, so as to read: "There shall be a National Committee, composed of one member from each organized state or territory, each committee-man having one vote for every hundred members of his state, or majority fraction thereof, the number of members to be determined by computing the average dues-paying membership per month for three months prior to time of voting."

Other National Affairs.

Charters were granted last week to the following new local unorganized states or territories: Adamson, Rodas, and Coal Run, W. Va.; Hoff and Bennington, I. T.; Frontberg, Md.; Iowa.

The National Quorum, consisting of National Committee-men Work of Iowa, Berger of Wisconsin, Berlyn of Illinois, Reynolds of Indiana, and Dobbs of Kentucky, will meet on Saturday, Nov. 14, at the national headquarters in Omaha, as agreed upon at the July meeting. Business of importance will be transacted and a statement of the prospective organizing and lecturing work of the national headquarters for the winter will probably be made to the membership.

The North Dakota State Quorum has unanimously adopted a resolution heartily endorsing the suggestion of A. M. Simons for the selection of a National Secretary for Municipal Affairs, and requesting the National Committee to bring the matter before the next national convention.

Local Sedalia, Mo., by a unanimous vote on Oct. 23, adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That this local hereby endorse the action of the Omaha Local in the Mills controversy. We do not approve of any of our public speakers speaking under the auspices of any pretended friends of our party against the protest of any local, state, or national organization of the party, whether acting in an official

Special Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the Special Organizing Fund since last report: Jas. B. Palmer, The Dallas, Tex., \$1; Job Trotter, Mexico, \$25 cents; C. Miles, Jerome, Ariz., \$1; A. L. New York City, 25 cents; C. H. Happersett, Paris, Ill., 10 cents; Local Cheyenne, Wyo., \$1; Local Abita Springs, La., monthly contribution, 50 cents; J. E. Carnahan, Ingersoll, Okla., \$1; Local Millville, Pa., 50 cents; Joseph Menzies, Oregon City, Ore., 50 cents; J. W. Sawyer, Grand Junction, Colo., 50 cents; Tenth Ward Branch, Local St. Louis, Mo., \$1; Local Gibbstown, Idaho, 50 cents; J. Blawie, Portland, Ore., \$2.50; S. H. Caldwell, Chester, Idaho, \$1; Local Valley City, N. D., \$1; Branch 23, United Silk Workers of America, Hoboken, N. J., \$2.75; Chas. Ufert, W. Hoboken, N. J., \$1.21; Local Lewis-ton, Mont., 50 cents; W. D. Hurt, Pleasant Hill, Mo., 25 cents; Peter Saures, Philadelphia, Pa., \$1. Total to date, Nov. 7, \$188.55. Previously reported, \$12,527. Total, \$12,716.22.

New York City.

The General Committee of Local New York will meet Saturday evening, Nov. 14, in the W. E. A. Club House, 200 E. Eighty-sixth street. This is a regular meeting, the same as would otherwise be held on the fourth Saturday, as the hall could not be secured for that evening in November and December. Delegates should bring their membership cards and be on time.

At the special meeting of the K'n's County Committee on Nov. 7, resignation of P. H. Conington from the party was received and referred to a specially elected district branch. Financial secretary reported balance on hand \$287.75. Comrades Scheffer and Butcher were chosen to act in conjunction with Labor League Committee in arranging lectures to be held in the Labor League. Next regular meeting will be held Nov. 15.

The City A. D. of Brooklyn held a meeting the day after election, with larger attendance than the usual one. The speaker for the evening was to conduct immediate and effective propaganda. A systematic plan of house-to-house agitation will be followed. Each election district will be taken up by two comrades residing therein, with the purpose not only to make new Socialists, but to get every B. D. P. voter into the party organization. Six comrades volunteered to go to work immediately and report on results at next meeting.

The Socialist lectures of the 1st, 2d and 5th A. D. will be continued every Sunday evening through the winter. The speaker for next Sunday is not yet decided upon, but on Nov. 22 Louis B. Roudin is slated to speak on "The Philosophy of Socialism." On Nov. 29 Algeron Lee will deliver the first of a series of three lectures: "The Capitalist System," on Dec. 6, "The Development of Capitalism," on Dec. 13. "The Socialist Movement as a Product of Capitalism." These lectures are being held in the rooms of the Kinderhook Club, at 50 Morton street, near Hudson.

The 21st A. D. has swung into line for next year's campaign. At a large attended meeting last Friday Comrades Althaus, Shapiro, Seliger, Ezeron, Van Name and Paschewitz were elected as a committee to devise ways and means for the strengthening of the branch, increasing its membership and to formulate some plan whereby the branch can further The Daily Globe project.

Pennsylvania.

State Secretary Stick gives out a statement in regard to D. O. Coughlin, the candidate of the Socialist Party for District Attorney in Luzerne County in the campaign just closed, whose name, as the State Committee learned on Oct. 5, appeared also on the Citizens' ticket. On inquiry, the County Committee stated, what appears to be the fact, that Coughlin had not solicited nor accepted the endorsement nor made any plea for the Citizens' organization. The State Committee, nevertheless, publicly declines the nomination. This demand was so far complied with that Coughlin published in the local labor paper a statement that he had not asked nor accepted any nomination but that of the Socialist Party, and that he did not desire the vote of any man who was not a Socialist. Further than this, the County Committee declined to require him to go. The State Committee, therefore, at its meeting of Nov. 9, holding that Coughlin's failure legally and decisively to refuse the Citizens' nomination must be considered as a tacit acceptance and a violation of Socialist principles and of the party constitution, decided to revoke the charter of the Luzerne County Committee and to call upon the locals of that county to take action against its members.

Ohio.

Conroy, Ven West County, Ohio, has been organized by Geo. R. Kitchin, who expects to make rapid progress, and will soon have a strong Socialist organization.

Marietta, Washington County, Ohio, has been organized, and the Socialist workers there promise to have one of the very best locals in Ohio before another campaign rolls around.

Referendum proposed by Local Toledo was sent to a vote of the state on Nov. 10, and will remain open until Dec. 10.

Referendum vote upon the election of a member of the National Committee from Ohio for 1904 is being held back pending the answer to letter from State Secretary to C. Reicher, asking his acceptance or declination

of the nomination. All other candidates have replied. As soon as his answer is received referendum will immediately be submitted.

New England.

State Secretary Berry of Maine spoke at Waterville on Nov. 1 and organized a new local with seven charter members.

The Socialist Women's Club of Boston will open a Socialist Sunday School Nov. 15, 3 p. m., at the party headquarters, 400 Washington street. Winfield P. Porter, as superintendent, will give an address, and Dr. Antoinette Konikow will speak. Mrs. W. P. Porter will conduct the singing. Charles Kerry's "Socialist Songs" have been adopted. Parents are requested to bring their children.

Here and There.

Local Omaha has unanimously adopted resolutions protesting against the action of the Jackson County Socialist Club of Missouri in giving membership to George E. Baird, who, so the resolution states, "was expelled from the Omaha Local of the Socialist Party of Nebraska on being proved a corrupt and a hoodlum in the pay of the Republican party in 1901."

The "Railway Employees' Journal," organ of the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, which has heretofore been issued as a four-page weekly, will come out in future as a monthly magazine, beginning with the November issue, published on Nov. 15.

"The New Commonwealth," published weekly at Westwood, Mass., is the latest addition to the Socialist press. The editors and publishers are J. E. Littlefield and C. E. Ordway, with George Willis Cooke as associate.

T. J. McKelgan, an active member of the Social Democratic Party in Jamestown, Wis., represents the Trades Council of that city at the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Vallejo, Cal., has elected a member of the Socialist Party in that place.

THE NEW YORK STATE REFERENDUM.

Editor of The Worker:—For the information of the comrades, I offer some light on the points involved in the motion of Louis Yonkers, Buffalo and Syracuse, now submitted to a general vote of the party in New York state. The motion is to change Article II of the state constitution.

The proposed changes are indicated in the following comparison: Present Section 1: The affairs of the state organization shall be conducted by the State Committee, and by the general vote.

Proposed Section 1: The affairs of the state organization shall be conducted by the State Committee and by the general vote.

Present Section 2: The State Committee shall elect nine members residing in the city of New York to constitute the State Committee. They shall serve until the next convention.

Proposed Section 2: The State Committee shall consist of the state of New York, except Local Rochester. The latter shall elect five members residing in the city of Rochester to constitute the Local Quorum. This State Committee shall serve until the next convention.

Present Section 3: The locals of the city of New York shall have the authority to fill vacancies in the State Committee, and the power of removal.

Proposed Section 3: The locals of the city of New York shall have the authority to fill vacancies in the Local Quorum, and the power of removal.

Present Section 4: Any organized county may send at its own expense a delegate to the State Committee.

Proposed Section 4: The state delegates from each county shall have the right to attend the meetings of the State Quorum at the expense of the county each delegate representing.

Present Section 5: A. and B. C. The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 5: A. and B. C. The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Present Section 6: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 6: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Present Section 7: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 7: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Present Section 8: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 8: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Present Section 9: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 9: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Present Section 10: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 10: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Present Section 11: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 11: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Present Section 12: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

Proposed Section 12: The State Committee shall elect a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer, and such other officers as the committee may deem proper. The committee may compensate its officers from the treasury of the state organization.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

All Comrades and Organizations are hereby informed that an Industrial Labor Exposition and Food Show for the benefit of the Labor Press, "THE WORKER" and the "NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG," is being arranged, and will take place April 23 to May 8, 1904, at the GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets, New York.

Organizations are requested to consider arranging Festivals accordingly.

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

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shall furnish to the locals an itemized report of its income and expenditure for the previous six months. 10. All reports of a referendum vote shall be submitted to the locals in a tabulated form. (The practice prevailing now is to publish a tabulated report in the party press.)

Proposed Section 11: In case of conflict between any provision of this constitution and the national constitution, the latter shall take precedence.

Proposed Section 12: In case of conflict between any provision of this constitution and the national constitution, the latter shall take precedence.

A mere glance at the above will show that the only change proposed is the removal of headquarters from New York to Rochester.

The present local east of Rochester is Syracuse and west of Rochester is Buffalo. Therefore, with headquarters in Rochester, the quorum will have to be composed of members of Local Rochester only.

The present State Committee is composed of members elected at the state convention of 1902 and delegates from organized counties, as follows: Members elected at the convention of 1902: From New York County: 1. Phil- line, Earl Neppel, Leonard D. Abbott, H. Reeb, H. L. Holodun, James N. Wood; from Kings County, Chas. L. Furman, Hugo Peters (in place of Rowman, resigned); delegates from counties: Richmond, now vacant; New York, Courtney Lemon; Kings, Wm. Struempfer; Queens, Chris Hub; Westchester, Dixon; Orange, G. J. Lashlow. The officers of the State Committee are: Henry L. Shubilla, corresponding secretary; Courtney Lemon, recording secretary; Emile Neppel, financial secretary and treasurer; Herman Reich, literature agent during the campaigns of 1900 and 1902.

Notwithstanding any prevailing notion to the contrary, the State Committee at no time paid any compensation whatever to any of its permanent officers for their services. The State Committee had ample power to do so if it deemed it necessary. But neither the state secretary, financial secretary and treasurer, recording secretary, nor the literature agent ever asked or received compensation for their work.

A financial and membership statement will shortly be published.

HENRY L. SHUBILLA.

LECTURE CALENDAR FOR NEW YORK

Lectures for the week under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party and auxiliary organizations, whether by Socialist or non-Socialist speakers, and by Socialist speakers before other organizations, are listed below. Unless otherwise stated, lectures are called for 8 p. m.

FRIDAY, NOV. 13.

West Side Socialist Club, Clark's Hall, Bedford street, Twenty-fifth street and Eighth avenue, second floor. Dr. G. H. Clark: "Co-operation vs. Competition."

Verein für Volksbildung, 64 East Fourth street. Courtney Lemon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism."

Socialist Literary Society, 232 East Broadway. Leonard D. Abbott: "The Socialist Spirit in Art and Literature." Colonial Hall, 101st street, near Columbus avenue. Dr. G. H. Clark: "An Essay on Socialism."

Scandinavian Social Democratic Society, 233 E. Thirty-eighth street, 7.30 p. m. Algeron Lee.

BROOKLYN.

William Morris Educational Society of Brownsville, Tolson's Hall, corner Thawford and Fifth avenues, 8.30 p. m. Courtney Lemon: "The Socialist View of the State, State Interference, and State Capitalism."

SUNDAY, NOV. 15.

Warrior's Hall, 515 Washington street. Margaret Haile: "The Earth for the Human Race."

SPANISH MINERS' WIL STRIKE.

The strike of the iron miners of Bilbao, Spain, led by the Socialists, is reported to have ended in a brilliant success, in spite of the calling out of ten thousand soldiers to quell it. The miners, 35,000 in number, stood firm and the workmen of other trades showed their sympathy in an unimpeachable way. After a fight in which four of the strikers were killed and many wounded, the government de-

clined to use its influence to induce the employers to settle, lest the strike develop into a formidable insurrection. As a result, the men went back to work last week, with the promise of weekly payment of wages, abolition of the truck system after Jan. 7, and abandonment of the rule which required them to live in the miserable barracks owned by the companies. The right to maintain a union is, however, denied them, and the dispatches say that this will lead to further trouble.

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H. B. SALISB

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Two Straight Socialists in Provincial Parliament.

Vanimo and Newcombe Send Men Pledged to the Principles of the International Movement—A Third Barely Defeated by a Trick—Miners Vote as They Strike.

In our issue of Oct. 25 we noted the election of two candidates as Socialists to the provincial parliament of British Columbia and spoke "with some doubt of the quality of their Socialism." We are glad to be corrected by a letter from O. Lee Charlton of Victoria, who says "I cannot attach any blame to you for your doubts when I consider the source of your information." We present the main facts given by Comrade Charlton.

The law of British Columbia requires each parliamentary candidate to deposit \$250, to be forfeited if his tally falls below half that received by the winning candidate—an almost prohibitive tax on third parties. Nevertheless, the Socialist Party had two candidates in the field in nine "ridings" or constituencies (some ridings elect more than one member), out of a total of forty-two seats in thirty-four ridings. These candidates were:

John T. Mortimer, Vancouver City, who received 1,338 votes.
A. R. Stebbins, Vancouver City, 960.
J. C. Waters, Victoria, 800.
J. H. Hawthornthwaite, Nanaimo, 490.
Ernest Mills, Greenwood, 332.
Parker Williams, Newcastle, 280.
J. H. McPherson, Fernie, 200.
R. Shannon, B. A., Ferguson, 170.
J. W. Bennett, Kelso, 152.
John Hordan, Grand Forks, 242.

The two elected, Hawthornthwaite and Williams, were elected. The former had 484 votes against 325 for the Conservative and 294 for the Liberal-Labor candidate. Williams was successful in Newcastle, where the coal, railway, and land magnate, Dunsuair, has just beaten the miners in a big strike. Williams got 240 votes to 217 for the Conservative and 202 for the Liberal. Here and at Nanaimo there will probably be a straight fight next time between the Socialists and a combination of the other parties, but the comrades do not fear the result.

Defeated by a Trick.

In Greenwood, Ernest Mills was defeated by a plurality of 9, and that only by a neat trick. In the town part of the riding the polls closed at 7:30 p. m. and in the rural part at 8 p. m. The old-party managers took stock their vote in town until they heard the results from the country booths; then, learning that the Socialist was leading, with the Liberal second, they instructed the town Conservatives to abandon their own candidate and rush in their votes for the Liberal.

In Vancouver, the S. L. P. also had a candidate, named Griffiths, who polled 234. The S. L. P. has been organized for five or six years, but has no foothold outside that city.

Watters and Stebbins lost their deposits, as did also Griffiths, but the other five Socialist candidates each polled more than half as many votes as their respective successful opponents.

Large Aggregate Vote.

The aggregate vote of our ten candidates is 4,870 (exclusive of the S. L. P. 234). This is 12 per cent. of the total vote in the districts contested and almost 9 per cent. of the total in the province. Comrade Charlton points out that this beats any state in the Union and says: "We hold the banner. Do we feel proud? We admit it—proud of the vote and proud of our party and its platform."

For Straight Socialism.

This election day, Oct. 8, was the second anniversary of the organization of the Socialist Party of British Columbia. The platform adopted in 1901 and reaffirmed by the convention of 1902 is a clear and straightforward statement of Socialist principles, and declares allegiance to the movement of the International revolutionary working class. The party constitution gives: "Under no circumstances shall the Socialist Party of British Columbia fuse or act with any other political party." Every applicant for membership in the party signs the following statement:

"I, the undersigned, desire to be enrolled as a member of the Socialist Party of British Columbia. I recognize the class struggle between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class to be a political struggle for power (namely to capture the reins of government), which necessitates the organization of the workers into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties of the capitalist class. I hereby sever my relations with all other political parties, and pledge myself to support by vote, vote and other legitimate means the ticket and the program of the British Columbia Socialist Party."

The Liberal and Conservative parties are almost exactly equally represented in the new parliament, so that the two Socialists, with one Labor candidate, hold the balance of power. We are sorry to have doubted the genuineness of the Socialism of the men elected, and heartily glad to learn that our doubts were unfounded. It seems certain that Socialism in British Columbia is on a sound basis and is making excellent progress.

There is a report that the Comrade Orle, in disguise, attended the convention of the German Socialist Party in Dresden, and that she has been giving the Socialists important information.

ELECTION RETURNS

(Continued from page 1.)

vilage did as well, King Morgan would be out of his job.
SALT LAKE CITY, Utah, Nov. 4.—M. A. Jones, Socialist candidate for Mayor, polled 800 votes. In the last city election, two years ago, Charles Stewart, had 484. Last year we had 969 in the city for Governor. This result is not as good as we could wish, but lines were drawn sharp this year and we can count that the 800 who voted our ticket yesterday will stick to the colors under any and all circumstances. The election of 1903 is over and the campaign of 1904 is on. We buckle on our armor with greater determination than ever for the renewal of the fight.

From National Headquarters.—A heavy decrease is reported from Colorado, notably in the mining districts, where the Populist candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, Owens, seems to have received many votes last year for the Socialist Party. Increases are reported from a number of places, but not enough to offset the falling off elsewhere. The Socialist vote for Governor last year was 7,502, but it is not likely this year's vote will reach more than half that figure. In San Francisco the lowest Socialist vote cast was 1004 as against 915 at the last municipal election.

OHIO VOTE.

DAYTON, O., Nov. 9.—Election returns are as yet rather meager owing to the comrades in many places being unable to get the complete figures up to date. Here are some of the returns at hand, compared with last year's vote:

	1902.	1903.
Toledo	1,571	850
Cleveland	2,638	1,297
Hamilton County	4,375	4,267
Montgomery County	1,007	903
Clark County	603	345
Franklin County	145	145
Auglaize County	18	23
Guernsey County	17	43
Knox County	10	10
Licking County	12	15
Madison County	3	8
Mercer County	9	21
Mineral County	42	82
Muskingum County	156	209
Perry County	14	80
Treble County	12	21
Union County	8	21

It appears from present indications as if we would make a gain over last year, but as to the exact amount it is impossible to say, as the returns are so uneven as to upset all calculations.

TOLEDO, O., Nov. 8.—The official

reported vote for the head of the Socialist ticket in Lucas County, including the vote for the last four years is as follows: In 1900—941 votes; in 1901—445 votes; in 1902—1,005 votes; this year, 908. The rest of our state ticket this year runs from 974 to 1,080.

To those who take more than a superficial view it will be seen that the unimproving vote in this county is steadily increasing. This year we had to go up against a "sure thing" fusion between "Golden Rule" Jones' non-partisan machine and Tom Johnson's machine in this county. "Golden Rule" you know. What the old-time Democrats and Republicans did to the fusion candidates made some "Socialists" feel like emigrating.

Toledo Socialists feel much encouraged at the local results and prospects. We have votes in every precinct of the city, and all the time more and more are coming to understand what is ahead for our party and the necessity for clear cut, uncompromising action. Reveal methods or appeals to people's phobias or coal combine may get votes, but they do not always make Socialists.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 8.—The Socialist candidate for Governor, Isaac Cowen, has 1,267 votes. Last year our candidate for Secretary of State, the head of the ticket, had 2,008. "Too much Johnson" explains the loss. Eight hundred half-baked Socialists thought Johnson had a chance of election and that he would "do something new," and so they threw their votes away.

KENNA, O., Nov. 5.—Last year we had 150 votes here. Now we have 215. Tiffin, O., Nov. 5.—Seneca County gives the Socialist Party 105 votes for the head of the state ticket; the other candidates run a little higher. Last year we had 150; two years ago, 67; three years ago, 72. The S. L. P. has eight, as against 12 last year, 10 in 1901, and 4 in 1900. It is known that Socialist votes were thrown out in some districts.

CANTON, O., Nov. 8.—Stark County gives 183 votes for Cowen, candidate of the Socialist Party for Governor. Our other candidates have from 378 to 414. Last year we had 263 for the head of our state ticket and in 1900 we had 94. The S. L. P. has 82.

SPRINGFIELD, O., Nov. 4.—The election here was more like a funeral. Only about half the voters went to the polls. We have 320 votes for Cowen. Last year we had 909 in the whole of Clark County and in 1900 we had 53. The S. L. P. has 28 in Springfield. Our votes were nearly all straight.

THE GLASS WORKERS.

The third annual ball of the Glass Workers' Union, or Local 23 of the Glass Workers' International Association of America, was a great success, despite the fact that this organization is now in the twenty-first week of a strike. General President J. J. Morgan was present with a number of delegates from the trade councils of St. Louis, Chicago, Belleville, Ill., Philadelphia, and elsewhere; on their way to the A. F. of L. convention in Boston, and as they are all good Socialists, they lighted the fire of enthusiasm for the strikers and for the struggles of the working class at large. At the close of the evening they will make every effort towards bringing the long strike of the glass workers to a victorious end. President J. Martin of Local 23 was presented with a handsome gold medal by General President Morgan in the name of the International Association.

—The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

TAFF VALE LAW IN INDIANA.

Employers Are Successfully Using Unions for Damages Caused by Strikes or Boycotts.

The Gibson Circuit Court in Indianapolis has decided that a union is responsible for any loss which an employer suffers through a boycott. The decision was rendered against the local union of carpenters, which was for a large sum by a contractor whom the carpenters had boycotted. The case is being taken to the higher courts by the national organization of carpenters. The decision that lack of incorporation does not prevent the unions from being responsible for the result of their boycotts is a very important one to all labor organizations, as a dozen or more are now being sued in different states.

This marks one more step in the progress of what is known as "Taff Vale law"—the rule laid down in the famous Taff Vale case in England, about a year ago, and first successfully applied in this country against the machinists of Rutland, Vt. Unless the workmen very soon decide to put men chosen by and pledged to their class alone upon the bench as well as in legislative and executive chambers, the new application of law by capitalist judges bids fair to render the unions practically helpless.

THE SEAMY SIDE OF "PROSPERITY."

Reaction Is Already Hitting the Working Class Hard—Lay-offs and Wage Cuts the Order of the Day.

READING, Pa., Nov. 9.—A notice was posted to-day at the tube mill of the Reading Iron Company of reduction of wages to take effect Monday, Nov. 10. The puddlers will be reduced from \$4.50 to \$4 a ton and all other classes from 3 to 10 per cent. The Phoenix Iron Company has also posted notices advising its workmen of a 5 per cent. reduction.

BALTIMORE, Md., Nov. 10.—The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has reduced the working hours of the railroad men and locomotive shops to conform with a similar cut made in the maintenance of way force. This is a reduction from a ten-hour day to a nine-hour day, and carries with it a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 10.—Along with other plans for cutting expenses for the winter comes the report that the Union Pacific will materially reduce the force in the shops along the line of the road. Shipman says the reduction will not be the regular winter's curtailment of help, but will be a cutting of the force to just one-half of the present number.

The reduction comes in line with the order of E. H. Harriman two weeks ago to cut wherever possible. Almost one-third of the working force in the engineering department of the road has been discharged within the last week.

"SCOTCHED, NOT KILLED."

That the capitalists of Massachusetts, after the first moments of exultation on the electoral victory, begin to realize that, after all, Socialism is by no means dead, is shown by an editorial from the Lawrence "Sun," which we print entire.

But first we must quote the concluding sentence of another editorial in the same issue, referring to Carey's defeat:

"Now that he is gone, the House will breathe easier, for many a legislative scheme never saw the light of day merely because Carey of Haverhill would be sure to shoot at it, and he had a faculty of hitting the bulls-eye pretty often."

"The material falling off in the Socialist vote in Massachusetts is not so reassuring to persons who fear Socialism as they look at the electoral victory. The defection of 10,000 votes leaves the party with over 20,000 votes remaining, which may reasonably be accepted as the normal strength of the Socialist Party. The 10,000 voters who have evidently renounced the doctrine of Marx and Liebknecht were probably attracted to the party last year on account of the intense popular excitement over the strike in the anthracite coal fields. The conclusion of the strike and the return of warmer weather have operated to calm these 10,000 disgruntled ones, who yesterday renewed their affiliations with the two old parties."

"In the meanwhile, the 20,000 voters polled Tuesday by Chase represent a number of radicals which seems all too great in the opinion of anti-Socialists. For these 20,000 have stuck to the principles enunciated by the 'new' leaders in the face of a withering fire from both the old parties, who were quick to take advantage of defections of prominent Socialists and exploit them to the fullest extent in an effort to stem what is regarded as a more or less dangerous political and economic movement."

"Industrial troubles gave the Socialists the very substantial grip that they have on Haverhill, repetitions of strikes such as that in the anthracite region will give them a pretty good grip on the state and nation. If the dangerous growth of Socialism must be checked, therefore, some effective solution of the industrial problem must be advanced and quickly."

Indeed it must. But what effective solution will you find, gentlemen, short of slavery on the one hand or Socialism on the other?

—If you have a friend who believes in Socialism and votes the ticket but does not see why he should become a party member, get him to read "The Socialist Army." You can get the pamphlet from the Socialist Literature Company, 194 William street, New York. Price, 2 cents a copy, or 75 cents a hundred.

—The Economic Foundations of Society, by Achille Loria, is a book which will repay careful study. It can be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 194 William street, New York, for \$1.25.

SOCIAL CHANGE: ITS MEN, ITS MOTIVES AND ITS MEANS.

By Peter E. Burrows.

"The desire for change is characteristic of all bad men," say those whose incomes are fixed or on the increase. But the despotic, the satisfied, and the conventional share the love of change with as because change is the law of life. The despot first loves it for himself, then he loves to be the cause of it in others; and the satisfied loves to keep a string on it; and the conventional loves to be, or to hold, the program for it. The radical looks for it and the Socialist makes it. There is a sure anchorage and limit for the necessary changes of human personal life, and to find that anchorage and give it that scope is the virtue of society—to the individual the virtue of change, to society the virtue of secure basement upon change as determined and called for by the sum of new experiences.

This generation of workers, and the one or two preceding it, have passed their years under the wheels of the law of change. They have seen the world's history has changed been so gradually the order of the day. Never have the heads of nations boasted so reluctantly of the results of this great law of change and yet so vehemently fought against its entering their own properties and privileged reservations.

It is not to figures but to facts that one may securely turn to fortify the perception that change has been the most evidential thing of the century.

Party politicians and property capitalists may play hide-and-seek with figures to prove, for instance, that there is an American unit called "the people," which is getting fatter all the time, better fed, better clad, taking life easier, and having a bigger balance at its banks. But the unstatistical mind can get its facts contra from life, and as the statistician triumphantly concludes his demonstration by crying to labor: "You see by these figures that there are no classes in America." Labor answers: "But, your logic is irrefutable, but you lie. I am here, all right. I am the great all wrong class. If the community which has merely remained under the wheels of change, while all the rest of the folk were evolving."

We do not count up the facts of life, we experience them and know them; and even when governmental arithmetic proves otherwise we still know, without that sort of science, and in spite of such figuring, that we are right in it as the victims of change. Carey and Cannon Wrong may impress the page of paper on which they prove it, with the statement that the proletarian class is a vanishing quantity in American politics, vanishing into that unit of property known as the People. These writers do it, may they do so, but yet they leave it undone, for the sign of the great majority answers "I am here."

Figures, sometimes called facts, take on somewhat of a mercenary character when they go into sociology or politics. When they stay by the scales and the measures of things they have themselves scientifically, but in economics they vary as the figure of a cat varies in the pursuit of a mouse. Only one conclusion may be sure of: you always find that cat near the hole that contains the mouse.

The material class is the sociological map of the changed class. Never mind arithmetic, but look at the series and the palatial districts. The upper and lower are always found apart, and the remaining hybrid middle class is to be found everywhere the dollar rolls. It appears as if the great law of change were devoting itself mainly to the middle class and resulted only in throwing people from thence down to No. 3 or throwing them up to No. 1. Verminous and to be in that middle class, the class that is the class of the future. There may be change in the personnel of the classes, but nevertheless they are fixed states. The penitentiary changes its personnel, but prison life goes on. This one may get out and that one may get in, but in spite of patriotism's "Hush" the class walls are there, with the American population behind them.

The first class owns, or keeps for its own use, lands and houses and social controls. It does nothing useful, but it takes the title of its own volition. It takes title of all men. Its sole business is to own and keep.

The second class is not the first in the course of formation. Its business is the art of owning, sometimes losing, at which times it descends home to us of the third class. Ownership is its goal, but in the interim it owns only while awaiting sales; its property is commercial. It is a working class, but it works under its own stimulation and as a profit producer it retains the whole of its own product.

The third class begins at six o'clock in the morning and leaves off at six, except when the clock strikes nine, and neither controls, initiates, owns, nor keeps anything but what slips down its throat and gets under its waistband.

The first class resides in the West End, with an army of literary, political and clerical landowners to keep it looking clean. The second class stops near the bank, market, depot and telephone. The third class dwells where labor is saleable—none of them lives. Labor grinds out all that which the other two grasp for. Its reward is not personal property; its reward is the bitter-sweet of itself—labor in life. It just gets bread enough for the laborer of to-day to be the laborer of to-morrow. The middle class rush is a rush away from itself only; eagerly going to the upper class for the first offer, but involuntarily falling into the under class a great deal oftener. It is men with the middle class mind, born in one class and always tending to another, who have no idea that there are classes in America. Nay, even after they get into one or other of them they still retain the mind that cannot see it until the classes as two armies begin to move, and the middle mind is being trod upon by the live mind of the world.

To avoid death they have been whipping around themselves, playing the shadow dances of fictitious change, while waiting for the approach of the fundamental fact, still moving because all must move either in the fact or the fancy of change. The aristocrat is found whirling over the earth for change of scene. Also only of scene, but never change of eyes. His only change resolves itself into the difference of character and bearing which he fancies he sees in the variety of slaves that different nations surround his person with at the bidding of his dollars. He forgets, poor rich man! that all servants have but one character and all masters the other one. Again, among the slave class of industry, what does the Mover find? It finds the world circle of art reduced to the revolutions of a spindle: men condemned to hard labor for life standing before some mechanical tickler which marks a dot, or punches a hole, or does some other curiously small thing for every turn of the whole class on the very eye of condescension but for the story papers and the newspapers and the playhouses and the sermons, which keep them languidly alive with fairy pictures of a life outside as they stand tolling in their toms.

These two ulterior classes have been kept apart, ripening their antagonisms for one another. The death of the middle class is the resurrection of both.

The great swing of change has been from combat to construction. The middle class battle was itself but a shadow battle; its combats and combats were but subterfuges, delusions, postures of real issues. The middle class was a wily, watery life in a band of pickpockets in the liver of a mounted cavalry, a hollow hypocrisy arrayed in the ruddy face, the ample paunch and bluff speech of a Falstaff, and therefore all the more a disgusting hypocrisy. But that life is now worked out of life, and life takes up its two facts and places them face to face. What will they do?

Had the middle class contented itself with the role of mediocrity between two conscious classes antagonizing each other, the three classes might long have remained in history without writing and fighting out the scene of change. But the lower class had not been taught its consciousness; it had rather been deceived away from it, while the middle class should have remained the communicator of class consciousness from one true economic class to the other because, in a hasty sort of way, conscious of itself as a middle class, and then very hastily conscious of a desire to become the upper class. To that end, therefore, the men of the middle class began to smite down labor with its golden feet, mounting upon the shoulders of their own weaker associates first, and they upon the next weaker, and they upon the stronger of the laborers, until the top middle was able to lead the way into the windows of America's aristocracy, leaving all the human rounds of the ladder that fell short to fall down into seething purgatory. He who treks the subject of labor in a fundamentally new way will soon find that he has fundamentally changed all other subjects of speculation. Labor is the mountain of the landscape towards which all the remaining details of the mental picture are arranged. Thus every system of philosophy now known to mankind is arranged in subordination to the concepts of a land or a financial aristocracy. Even the principles of evolution have been rayed and constrained to do service conformable to aristocratic and slave arrangements.

It is impossible to have any important new science amidst old economic thoughts. No revolution worthy the name takes place by mere transposition of man and matter. The element of newness is the class that works, because it is the element of reality. Masterhood is but an afterthought suggested to others by labor's stupidity. But the present order of society, as we know it, is the product of the fundamental facts of society, and upon this assumption stands our entire thought fabric of law, religion and letters.

In spite of our own revolutionary agitation there is much difficulty experienced by Socialists in throwing off the alken togs of aristocratic thinking. We cling to the idea that labor is going up to Congress to mingle among its greater men, and we do not appreciate the vital fact that our revolution must work the other way. Our goal is to establish an order of society wherein work precedes and produces all personal culture—a society whose affairs shall be administered by those who make the world's affairs. Because industry is the life of the commonwealth. It shall be an industrial commonwealth. The organization of the world's workers into the world's politicians, no longer by any class outside of themselves to be ruled. The class of parasite aristocracy shall not be destroyed as men out of the human family, but "benignly assimilated" into co-operation with its workers, and for a factitious nobility there shall be conferred upon them the true nobility of participation in the necessary life of man. When in course of time there shall come out of this red earth of the necessary life, leisure and culture, it will be the leisure and culture of the whole, no longer alienated from the whole, but the universal blessing of man. It is, according to our thoroughness as to the proletarian being the man for the Socialist revolt and the subsequent Socialist government, that we are revolutionary Socialists, and as we recede from this we approach Bernstein and the accommodationists. We do not think out our great revolution, however greatly we may be able to alter it. Our poor class has a long time yet to travel before its thoughts can motive its revolutions. Poverty alone, when it has entered into the experience of self-consciousness and solidarity, can give us that motive energy which is sufficient for the next great social change.

Sentiments of liberty, equality, fraternity and patriotism are well enough after dinner, but revolutions are troublesome affairs and dangerous, and all men hate trouble and danger. So you may rely upon it, no after-dinner

sentiments are able to propel the next and greatest of revolutions.

What motive, then, can we find that is equal to this contingency? What but the need of maintaining our right to bread. This alone is big and strong enough to face all the inconveniences and danger to be met with in carrying out the overthrow of capitalism. The majority of the people belong to the brute creation on all other subjects but bread, and this subject is alone able to give us the agitators and the motive for Socialism.

Must we wait, then, for famine to give us the speech and the man of Socialism? No; fear and fierce desire will run ahead and anticipate hunger. The famines of the past have given all men a farsightedness in this matter. We can not only see our bread gone, but we can see it going, and we can see it not coming. Privation has become educated in the course of many centuries.

And then look outside of our own immediate surroundings. Look through the plate glass that separates us as a class from the wealth, beauty and splendor of civilization. Think how much we have learned to know under the caption "NOT OURS." While the fact of famine, or the fear of it, urges us from behind, the fiercer desire to belong to our class, the desire for good things of our creation calls us on, and together they will surely give that motive that will man the ranks for the next revolution.

Now as to the means. They will be what they always were.

The instrument of revolution is that which, we being deprived of, has made us what we are. Bread may be the motive of social revolution, but the instrument of it is that which socially made the famine.

We look around us for that instrument to use it. We ask what that which kept us so near starving last winter, and we find that it was the landlord's rent, the grocer's bill, and the key of the factory on the wrong side. The landlord's rent we had all ways paid before last winter and the grocer's bill. What is it that precipitated our famine last winter? The key of the factory. We look over the whole field of our life, and we find the immediate neighbors and we find the key of the factory to be the key of our famine, and therefore the key of the next great social change which is called for by the workers. But behind and outside of the factory we have left entrenched the independent powers of rent and profit who nail up the doors and leave us to fry in our own fat.

We discover then that we have left the biggest part of the trouble yet untouched. They go to law with us to recover what they lost by the chance of the factory key. They are only a handful, but they harass us mightily. Not that the key of our factory proves, after all, not to be the only key of our work. All the time they have been smiting us by acts of Congress and by acts of soldiers and policemen, and they were directed in their acts of hostility, one and all, by one and the same thing—law. It is plain that we have not averted famine while they have law on their side. So, then, the factory key is not the instrument of revolution quite. No; the key of the White House. That is the instrument of revolution. But the White House is rightfully already occupied by the majority's representative? No; the majority is not there, for we are the majority. When that which seems to be, is, when the fact of our democracy accords with its theory, Socialism will be established through the worker having learned to use their own majority.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we do not neglect the time and manner of the transition to Socialism. We do not believe in the development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance that the Socialist Party support all active efforts of the working class to improve their condition and to elect candidates to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all industries in order to prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of the State shall be used for the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but for the improvement of the lot of the laboring class, the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, the improvement of the schools, the bettering of the rates to the consumers.

2. The reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the laborer, the product of labor.

3. A national insurance of working people in case of sickness, loss of employment, sickness and want in old age, the reduction of the hours of labor, the reduction of the rate of interest, the reduction of the rate of the consumer.

LABOR SECRETARIAT.

At the last meeting credentials were presented by Carpenters' No. 300, for H. Polgren; German Engineers' No. 334, for Chas. Schindewelt; Machinists No. 315, for John Clement; Machinists No. 516, for Chas. Tugend; Carriage and Wagon Workers No. 110, for E. Duffy; Carpenters' No. 513, for Ed. Plancher; Bakers' No. 7, for Ed. Schmitt; Bakers' No. 35, for E. Bousier; Painters and Decorators' No. 51, for Ed. Goss and Geo. Campbell. All credentials were accepted and delegates seated. The counsel, J. Hillquit, gave an extensive report of his activity for the Secretariat during the past month. This report showed that many claims for wages and actions to recover damages were settled in the interest of the members. The report of the Board of Directors was read and after a detailed report of the Secretariat to the board to grant Morris Hillquit a credential to represent the Secretariat at the International Socialist Congress, to be held next year at Amsterdam, was endorsed, with the amendment made by Larsen that Comrade Hillquit should be requested while at the congress to make himself familiar with the Labor Secretariat movement in Europe, and as a return grant a detailed report of his investigation. J. Lazard, of Bakers' No. 1, reported about the fight of his union against the White Standard Baking Company, 157-159 E. Second street. The delegate showed how stubbornly the firm refused to grant the demands for shorter hours and living wages. The financial report of the last quarter showed that the Secretariat is steadily growing in membership. The auditing committee reported having found books of the financial secretary and treasurer in the best of order. All delegates who will volunteer for committee service in the interest of the Labor Secretariat may report to the secretary what nights would be convenient and which organization they would prefer to visit. Bernhard Neubert was unanimously re-elected as treasurer. Delegates J. Kern and H. Polgren were elected as delegates to the Board of Directors. The following organizations failed to return their quarterly report blanks: Brewers' No. 9, Beer Drivers' No. 24, Iron Workers' No. 42, Bakers' No. 1, No. 3, No. 7, No. 25 and No. 50, Bricklayers' No. 9, Engineers' No. 1, Carriage and Wagon Workers' No. 127 and No. 133, Laborers' Protective Union No. 4 and No. 9, Jewelry Workers' No. 1, Machinists' No. 518. All absent delegates were kindly requested to instruct their financial secretary not to delay the returning of said report.

CAREY TO DEBATE.

Democratic "Friend of Labor" Made Rash Challenge and Will Be Held to the Mark by Worcester Socialists.

WORCESTER, Mass., Nov. 5.—We have had the chance to put a prominent local advocate of capitalism to the test and have not failed to use it. James H. Mellen is a well known Democratic politician who has represented this city in the Legislature for eighteen years. He poses as a "friend of labor" and is naturally much opposed to the growth of Socialism.

On Oct. 21, speaking before the Central Labor Union, he declared that he would be glad to meet in debate any Socialist "who would not get into a passion and make wild statements." On Oct. 23, Thomas P. Abbott, a well known veteran of the Socialist movement here, took up this challenge through the daily press, saying: "If I do not count on the head of 'objectionable' Socialists that you have reference to, I shall not only be pleased, but I very much desire to meet you in a friendly debate either publicly or before the Central Labor Union, and I will offer the following questions for your consideration: "Resolved, That Socialism, or the collective ownership of the tools and natural opportunities of production, is the only solution of the labor problem."

"Resolved, That the laboring class, as a class, economically and retaining the system of doing business for profit."

"These questions may be transposed so that you can take the affirmative and open the debate if you like, provided the sense is not destroyed, and you may frame a question to suit your self on the subject matter of Socialism and the labor question."

Mr. Mellen waited till the day before election and then published a letter declining to debate with Comrade Abbott on the ground that Abbott was not a "recognized leader" of the Socialist Party, but that he was willing to meet James F. Carey. Perhaps he thought this would let him out, but it will not. Despite the apocryphal tone of Mellen's letter, Abbott replied courteously in the next day's paper, expressing his complete satisfaction with the proposition that Carey take the affirmative of the debate, and undertaking to make every effort to arrange the meeting at an early date.

Mellen is editor, by the way, of the "Wage Worker," a paper newly established for the purpose of fighting Socialism, and is assisted in his editorial labors by the Avery-Glickstein-Gordon

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

(Note.—In New York and Wisconsin this party is officially recognized under the name of Social Democratic Party. The party emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.)

The Socialist Party of America is a national convention assembled, to discuss its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and to declare its policy in the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, the object of which shall be the overthrow of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership.

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SOCIALISM DISCUSSED.

Federation Leaders Cannot Evade the Issue.

President Gompers Orders Galleries Cleared for Applauding Haynes—Attempt to Suppress Discussion is a Failure.

BOSTON, Mass., Nov. 17.—"Since we can never be regarded as the full equivalent for Labor's toll, this convention recommends that we use their political and economic power along the lines of their class interests to secure for Labor the full product of its toil."

This was the form in which Max S. Haynes of Cleveland, delegate of the International Typographical Union, in the American Federation of Labor convention, today condemned the substance of eleven Socialist resolutions introduced by as many unions, large and small, and all together reported adversely by the Resolutions Committee.

Haynes' motion was to substitute this brief declaration for the committee's adverse report. The motion was greeted with loud applause, in which the workmen who packed the galleries joined. President Gompers, who was in the chair, angrily declared that he would not allow any manifestations of approval or disapproval from the galleries. A few minutes were called out by this statement, whereupon President Gompers ordered the galleries cleared and the doorknobs called on the police to help them drive out the spectators. It appears that on sober second thought Mr. Gompers must have decided that he had been too hasty, for the galleries were soon quietly opened again.

The eleven resolutions referred to were couched in various forms, and introduced by Delegate Kraft of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union; advised members of the Federation to support at the ballot-box only such candidates for public office as truly represent the interests of the wage-earners and stand on a platform demanding for the worker the full product of his toil. Another, by Delegate Elmer of the Bakers' International Union, proposed that "the American Federation of Labor declare in favor of collective ownership of land and capital and the operation of the same for the benefit of the whole people instead of a privileged few." A third, from a Laborers' Protective Union, declared in favor of democratic management of all means of production and distribution. Others advised independent political action of the workers on class lines or declared that the workers must get the full product of their labor.

After clearing the galleries, President Gompers declared Haynes' motion out of order, and on appeal the ruling was sustained by a delegate vote of 161 to 70. Delegate Barnes of Philadelphia then asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution on similar lines, but Schaffer, president and delegate of the Amalgamated Steel Workers, objected. Kraft made a similar attempt, but the pre-arranged plan to prevent a Socialist resolution from coming before the house was successful.

Haynes was compelled, therefore, to take up the question by speaking against the committee's report, and of course the shutting off of direct discussion of the resolution did not succeed in shutting of the debate on Socialism.

He declared that if the convention adopted the committee's report it cut the ground from under its own feet. New industrial methods and conditions, he said, had imposed new duties on the labor movement. The present aspect of the struggle between Capital and Labor called for careful attention. Recent developments ought to teach every workman that his class must use all its power, not to strike and boycott only, but to strike and boycott at the ballot-box.

Rapidly but carefully and clearly running over the history of the last thirty-eight years, he showed how the unions have continually begged for labor laws and how little they got by begging—how labor bills were defeated or indefinitely postponed or amended out of their original sense, even so as to turn them against the working class, or passed in such form that the executive officials would easily find them unenforceable or the courts would declare them unconstitutional and void.

Then he called attention to the rapid growth of the employers' associations within the past year, arraying themselves in a solid body against the labor movement. Not alone on the economic field, by lockouts and blacklists, he reminded his hearers, were the organized employers attacking the workers. The capitalists had seen the value of political power. If the workers had not, injunction had long been their favorite political weapon, but now they had added another—the use of damage suits to cripple or destroy the unions. Although it was less than a year since the Taft-Vale decision set a precedent, already we had seen unions in this country mulcted in heavy damage for peaceful striking or boycotting, and innumerable suits of the sort were now pending. Simultaneously with decisions that boycotting is illegal we have this year had decisions from United States courts that it is lawful for employers to maintain a blacklist.

"The capitalists know where their interest lies in politics as well as in the shop and the market," he said. "So long as one part of the working class votes for the Republican party, which endorses capitalism and whose officials

serve the capitalists, and the other votes for the Democratic party, which likewise endorses capitalism and whose officials likewise serve the capitalists, so long the capitalists have nothing to fear, for they win whichever old party goes in. The time has come when we of the working class must use our power, elect our men to the judicial bench and as legislators and mayors and governors. The trusts have grown and strengthened their position day by day through the last year. There are to-day four hundred great corporations in this land with a capital of eight thousand millions of dollars. Who can dream of free competition in the face of these figures? Two-thirds of the active capital of the country is entirely in the hands of these combinations. Trust rule, the rule of wealth, government by and for the capitalist class is not a thing of the future. It is here now. If we would save ourselves, now is the time to act.

Haynes was warmly applauded. Delegate Westward of Washington replied with the remark that the discussion of Socialism would destroy the union. He alleged that in the cities where Socialism is strong in the central bodies, trade unionism is waning. On this point he kept to safe generalities. Concluding, he admitted that Socialism is coming, but said he did not know whether it would accomplish anything.

Delegate Mikol of the Cap Makers declared that Socialism is indeed coming, that nothing can stop it, and it ought to be welcomed. He referred to the dismal failure of humble men, past and present, to bring about a change in the labor laws at Washington, as demonstrated by President Gompers' own reports, and urged that better results would follow from independent political action.

Delegate McLoughlin of the New Hampshire State Federation said he agreed with the Socialists in principle, but pleaded that it was hard for a man to leave his old party.

Fred Wheeler of California, delegate of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, spoke impressively on the Socialists' side, basing his argument on the radical change in conditions, which made it advisable to adopt new tactics.

Denis Haynes, the Glass Workers' delegate, spoke against Socialism. He had to admit that the Socialists told the truth, but said the average citizen had not yet reached the point where he knew how to use the ballot intelligently, and apparently he thought it much wiser to take his stand with those he declared to be ignorant than with those whom he admitted to have truth on their side. After saying he would like to see trade unionism taught in the schools, he declared there were "no classes in America," that he did not "like" to hear about class consciousness, and so on, in repeated contradictions and soundings.

Delegate Tanguard of Colorado did not know just where he stood. He thought the Federation should make some sort of a declaration on this great question. He would vote for a laboring man on any ticket.

Delegate Hoehn spoke strongly in favor of a frank Socialist declaration. Delegate Lennon of the Journeymen Tailors, of course, supported the committee's report. He said the Socialists wanted to make the trade unions the tail to their political kite, and hoped they would be defeated. In general terms he talked about the beneficial legislation that had been procured through trade unionism on old lines, and thought that the Australian ballot and the public schools were all we needed to protect it. Grimes of Texas, delegate of the Carpenters, also declared war on Socialism.

The last speaker of the day was an old man, Delegate Keyes of the Shipwrights' Union, who supported the Socialist report. He quoted from a speech of Gompers at Hay City, Mich., in 1884, to the effect that the only solution of the labor problem is for workmen to vote together. Mr. Gompers had changed his mind evidently. Well, it was a wise man who could change his mind. Other men might change their minds in the opposite direction.

They will not beg.

Machinists and Plumbers and Steamfitters of Elgin are tired of degradation and futile lobbying policy.

The Worker printed last week one of the many replies sent by affiliated unions to President Gompers' circular suggesting that unions petition and interview candidates of both old parties to get them to support eight-hour laws and similar measures. Here is another, sent by Lodge No. 296 of the International Association of Machinists, Elgin, Ill.

"Dear Sir and Brother:—Your circular letter on the Anti-Injunction and the Eight-Hour Bills has been thoroughly discussed by us. In reply we must say that we have no faith in any petition to United States Senators or to United States Representatives. Such petitions, by the treatment usually accorded them, have become our shame and we believe the time has come to demand in our own name and not to beg. That a bill should pass the House of Representatives to be killed in the House of Monopoly—once called the Senate—has become a standing jest to those who know and can see. That these two bills under discussion should meet a similar fate is only to be expected. That organized labor should be hoodwinked by such political trickery is a sad commentary on its intelligence, and we do not propose to humiliate ourselves by electing a congressional agent to power, then prostrate ourselves at his feet begging the crumbs that fall from the trust's, his master's, table.

"We believe that the methods of organized labor once effective are now antiquated and lacking; that we are prostrate ourselves at his feet begging the crumbs that fall from the trust's, his master's, table.

fields of activities we are bound to be annihilated by the new methods of the monopolist and his ally, the federal judge with his self-assumed dictatorial powers, and that we must enter the political arena, on a basis of class interest, with the end in view of complete emancipation from the power of monopoly.

"We do not want merely eight hours; we do not want seven hours; nor do we want only an increase of wages and better factory laws. We do want the entire product of our labor and the sole management of the conditions and the hours under which we shall work. And we shall think and work and vote to that end and shall not fritter our time away petitioning for slight less.

"Yours fraternally,
"ELGIN LODGE NO. 296,
"I. A. of M."

RAILWAY SLAUGHTER GROWS YET WORSE.

Forty-nine Thousand Five Hundred and Fifty Arguments for Socialism in our Time.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 14.—The Interstate Commerce Commission today issued a bulletin showing a large increase in the number of railroad casualties during the fiscal year closed June 30 last, as compared with the previous fiscal year.

There were 3,553 persons killed and 45,497 injured during the year, against 2,819 killed and 39,900 injured the year before.

The large increase is partially attributed to the gain in railroad traffic during the year and the increase of 12 per cent. in the number of men employed in train service.

This increase of 25 per cent. in the number of persons killed and 15 per cent. in the number injured is a part of the price that humanity pays—especially the tolling part of humanity—for the extraordinary profits of the railway owners, during the last year. The number of workmen on the railways has not been increased, nor the equipment improved in anything like the ratio at which traffic has grown. Consequently the men have had to work harder and faster, neglecting many usual precautions, and have had to work for unusually long hours, exhausting their vitality and often rendering them incapable of performing their duties with safety to themselves or others. They had no option but to obey orders at whatever risk or to lose their jobs.

While we allow the railways to be owned and controlled by capitalists and run for private profit rather than for public use, we may expect to go on paying such a tribute of blood as the capitalists' interests demand. The forty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty human beings killed or crippled on the railways this year are forty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty arguments for Socialism in our time.

PHASES OF THE COLORADO STRIKE.

Illustrate the Good Organization of the Men, the Class-Consciousness of the Capitalists, and the Concentration of Ownership.

Several minor features of the present strike of ten thousand Colorado coal miners strongly illustrate, both the effectiveness of the miners' organization and the class-consciousness of the capitalists directly or indirectly concerned.

The demand of the Utah coal miners for a 10 per cent. increase in wages was granted on Nov. 11, for fear that they would join the strike.

On Nov. 14 the coal miners of Northern Colorado were granted their eight-hour demand, with the understanding only that the concession should hold only in case the strike for eight hours in the Southern part of the state, where lie the most important fields, shall succeed.

It is conceded, even by the most bitterly capitalist papers, that perfect order has been maintained in the strike center and that the credit for this is due to the miners' strong and self-governed organization, which has cooperated with the local authorities and allowed the capitalists no pretext for calling for troops.

Perhaps the most interesting and suggestive item of news connected with this strike is the report that representatives of every railway entering Denver held a conference and on Nov. 12 agreed to adopt a uniform special freight rate on coal brought in from the Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Indian Territory fields while the strike lasts. The mining companies against which the strike is being fought had no considerable stock on hand, but the railway companies are ready to make freight-rate concessions to supply the market. This does not mean that the railway lords have suddenly grown considerate of the people's needs and wish to save the dear public from starving. It means that the men who control these nominally competing railways are largely the same men as control the soft-coal mines in Colorado and also in the other states mentioned, and are, largely, likewise, the same men who control the iron works and smelters and need fuel to keep them running—and, further, that they realize the danger of allowing the outside public to suffer too much, lest its indignation rise against the mine owners.

The Social Democratic Party of New York is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. The difference of name is due to requirements of the election law. Our emblem is the Arm and Torch.

Here is another phase of the strike, illustrating the company's attitude to

SCENES OF INDUSTRIAL WAR.

Proletarian Misery and Capitalist Arrogance as Exhibited in Chicago.

Twelve Hundred Men Beg for Work and Are Driven Off Like Dogs—The Street Railway Strike—Company Refuses to Let Union Men Run Mail Cars.

"TURN HOME ON MEN."
"Laborers Besiege Illinois Steel Company's Plant for Work."
"CHICAGO, Nov. 13.—Employees of the Illinois Steel Company's plant in South Chicago yesterday used a fire hose and a stream of water to drive back a crowd of 1,200 laborers, who, when disappointed in the alleged promise that they would receive work, tried to force their way into the yards. The men, who have been idle for several weeks, had been told, they said, that they would have work. We learn that they reported for duty at the steel works, and 1,200 workmen gathered at the gate. Instead of being put to work they were told that they must wait until Monday."

This appeared in the New York "Sun" last Saturday. Even though it appeared in the "Sun," it is so. And these are the days of prosperity, under a "full dinner-pail" administration.

Twelve hundred laborers in one industry in one city, out of work for weeks, driven to desperation by want and the fear of yet lower wages, besiege a factory and clamorously beg, not for clarity, not for any favor, but for the chance to do hard and dangerous work and get therefore a sufficient part of the value of their product to keep them from starvation.

And the answer they get from Morgan and Rockefeller, the Masters of the People's Loas, is this: Turn the backs on them, drive them away like dogs, drive them out to beg or to starve in quiet until we happen to need them. Until we can make profit out of them, until we, perhaps, mercifully let them in to toil for us and drive out the men now toiling for us to take their turn of starvation.

Street Railway Strike.

Meanwhile, a strike of the employees of the Chicago City Railway Company had been declared on Nov. 11. This corporation controls all the surface lines running on the south side of the city, making a total of more than 220 miles of track. Its profits, after paying every cent of the cost of operation and maintenance—including officers' salaries, taxes, insurance, legal expenses, and corruption fund, and including repairs also—run into the millions of dollars every year.

Three were the men's demands:
1. Twenty-eight cents an hour on electric cars, \$2.80 a day on cable cars, with time and a half for overtime. The company refused. The men have heretofore been doing the terribly hard work of running the street cars of a great city for wages about 20 per cent. lower than the rates named.

2. A workday of not more than eleven hours nor less than ten. This was refused, on the ground that it would hamper the company in its duty to the traveling public. The company is notoriously conscientious as to its duty to the traveling public. All such companies are. The public gets all that is coming to it in the way of bodily exertion, the excitement of danger, joy of battle, and strenuous physical, mental, and moral discipline, all for a nickel a ride.

3. Arbitration. The company offered to give this with a string to it. The company only wanted to be sure the arbitrators would always be wise enough to decide in its favor.

4. All employees to be union men. The company refused in a tone of righteous indignation to agree to this infringement of personal liberty. It was willing to assure the men that their interests would be carefully upheld or held up by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the Chicago City Railway Company a franchise.

Army of Strike-Breakers.

The company was very much surprised at its employees' unaccountable decision to strike. Fortunately, and pure chance, it had several hundred men in readiness to take the strikers' jobs. Reference to the first part of this article will explain why these men were willing to scab. An empty stomach and a ragged coat are powerful arguments.

Two days later we read this in the "Sun" dispatches:
"CHICAGO, Nov. 13.—Over 500 street railway strike-breakers will arrive in Chicago to-day from St. Louis. The agents of the Chicago company visited with much secrecy the St. Louis barns, gathering recruits for Chicago service. They offered \$8 per day and an extra bonus of \$100 to every man who would go to Chicago and run cars during the most difficult times. The St. Louis Transit Company has had in its employ about 800 men who helped to break the St. Louis strike several years ago and who were gathered from all parts of the United States. These men are of great daring and large physique. They were rewarded with good posts at high pay by the Transit company."

These are the burly thugs, the professional criminals against working-class morality, as contrasted with the poor fellows who scab to avoid starvation, as they might steal to avoid starvation.

"Duty to the Public."
Here is another phase of the strike, illustrating the company's attitude to

do its duty to the public even under difficulties.
"CHICAGO, Nov. 13.—Officials of the union, fearing interference with the operation of the United States mail cars to report for duty as usual. "Union men who reported at the various barns to take out the mail cars were told by the barn bosses that THEY MUST TAKE OFF THEIR UNION BUTTONS IF THEY INTENDED TO WORK. This a number of the men refused to do."

"The railway company REFUSED THE SERVICES OF A UNION CREW FOR A MAIL CAR sent out on Saturday street. The union crew reported for work, and were told by the barn boss that they were not needed."

SEVEN MILLION FOR NOTHING.

The Elevated Railway Capitalists' Good Bargain.

More than Half of Every Nickel Paid in Fares is Clear Profit to the Stockholders and Bondholders—What Social Democratic Rule Would Mean.

Russell Sage and the Goulds know a good thing when they see it. The people who ride on the elevated railway owned by these gentlemen are a good thing and are easy. Here are some figures from the annual reports of the Manhattan Railway Company and the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, issued last week. A priori, as the logicians say, these figures concern Messrs. Gould, Sage, and pals, and are "none of your business" to anyone else; a posteriori, they may interest the people who have paid in the little nickels that make up these big totals—and got half-crushed and half-starved in consideration thereof.

In the year ending Sept. 30, 1903, the Manhattan Railway Company (or the Interborough Company, its leavees) took in a total of \$12,407,852. It cost for wages, salaries, fuel, materials, and everything else—to run the road and keep it in repair, including payment of insurance and taxes, a total of \$4,016,882. Taking these figures as they stand (saying nothing of the big salaries paid to salaried officers or other forms of disguised profit) the absolutely clear profit amounts to \$8,390,970, or considerably more than half of the amount taken in.

Something for Nothing.
This enormous sum goes to Messrs. Gould, Sage, and pals, absolutely regardless of whether or not they do any work. It is clear graft, something for nothing. It is the sum that the people pay them for owning roads that they did not build and do not run—the sum we pay them for having allowed workmen to build and equip the road and for allowing workmen to run it.

It cost \$116,000 less to run the road this year than it did last year, and only \$101,000 more to run it this year than it did year before last. But the income last year was \$11,000,000 more than it was the year before and this year it was \$1,400,000 more than it was last year. Next year the income will go up again, out of all proportion to the small increase in cost of operation. And so the stockholders' and bondholders' profits will go on increasing and the employees' labor growing more idle, until the working-class majority of the people develop sense and spirit enough to vote it out of the hands of private exploiters and into the hands of the public.

What Social Democrats Would Do.
What would public ownership of this great system mean? Not public ownership on the capitalist plan—with the public acting as an agent to collect profit and turn it over to useless bondholders—but public ownership as advocated by Socialists, by the Social Democratic Party?

If this system had been under a Social Democratic administration during the last year, that seven millions of dollars would not have gone into the pockets of people who are doing no service for the public—not one cent of it.

In the first place, hundreds more men would have been employed and the hours of labor reduced to eight at the utmost, so that the workmen should be in condition to do their work well and cheerfully and should have leisure to get acquainted with their families and read and think and qualify themselves to live the life of men and citizens of a civilized community.

Further, their daily pay would have been raised, so as to make it possible for them to provide pleasant homes and maintain their families in comfort and keep their children in school, and so as to make this industry a power in helping the working class as a whole, reducing the competition for jobs, and increasing the remuneration of labor even in privately owned industries—for every industry, through the workings of competition, reacts upon and influences every other.

The establishment of the eight-hour day and an increase of 10 or 15 per cent. in wages would not absorb one-third of the enormous value now pocketed by the capitalists. The rest of that surplus increase, under a Social Democratic administration for use, would have been applied to improving and extending the service by every means that scientific ingenuity and executive energy could devise, so as to give greater comfort and convenience to the millions who ride on those trains every day.

What Stands in the Way?
And what stands in the way of this vast improvement in the condition of the men who work the system and of the service given to the public? The pocketbook interests of Messrs. Gould, Sage, and pals, and of the Rockefeller and Rothschilds who stand back of them. That, and the stupid individualism, the blind conservatism, the dull apathy of the working class majority, who have nothing to lose and all to gain by thinking and voting for Socialism, but who, instead, bow to the "sacred rights of property."

It is a good joke—for the men who get the seven millions for nothing.

Buy Union Label Goods.

THE GOVERNOR AND THE TRUST.

The circumstances of the shutdown in the copper industry in Montana which ended last week should give food for serious thought to those who may imagine that the United States is still a democracy and that it can go on under the existing economic system without degenerating into an absolute oligarchy.

The Amalgamated Copper Company—a \$155,000,000 corporation, dominated by the Rockefellers and other Standard Oil men and counting Democratic United States Senator Clark among its leading members—was involved in lawsuits with certain smaller mining interests over property rights. A state court rendered a decision against the Copper Trust.

Thereupon the Copper Trust promptly closed down its mines, smelters, and other works, throwing over 20,000 men out of employment—in other words, depriving one-fourth of the people of the state of their means of support.

Then the Trust notified Governor Toole that the shutdown would continue until he called the Legislature in special session to enact a law reorganizing the judiciary of the state in such a way as to assure to the Copper Trust what the Copper Trust would consider a fair trial of cases in which it might be involved.

Even Democratic Governor Toole, creature of Senator Clark, hesitated to grant such a demand. To save his dignity, he tried to persuade the Copper Trust to modify its terms or at least couch them in some more decently hypocritical language. But the Copper Trust "stood pat." It had power to starve the people of the state into submission. The Rockefeller and Clark and Rogers and Mower and Sullivan COULD AFFORD TO GO WITHOUT PROFITS FROM THEIR MONTANA ESTATES LONGER THAN ONE-FOURTH OF THE PEOPLE OF MONTANA COULD AFFORD TO GO WITHOUT WAGES.

The Governor pocketed his dignity and issued the call. The Copper Trust allowed its 20,000 men to go to work again in the dark of the mines and the poisonous atmosphere of the smelters. The Copper Trust will get the law it wants. And what next?

What next? It is for YOU, workmen, to say. Would you like to see the Fuel and Iron Company and other Standard Oil corporations that control the industries of Colorado repeat the trick there? Would you like to see the Great Northern dictate as brutally to the state authorities of Minnesota and the Dakotas? Would you like to see the Coal Trust play the game in Pennsylvania or the Cotton Mill Trust in the New England States? They will accommodate you, if that is what you are waiting for.

The Copper Trust in Montana has simply been a little more frank and direct in its methods than are the capitalists in other parts of the country. Elsewhere they fool you with the show of conflict between two old parties, both of which they control, and with the pretense of respect for free institutions.

But if you look on calmly at this thing that has happened in Montana,

SOCIALISM IN MALDEN.

Campaign for the Socialist City Ticket Being Carried on Despite Denial of Free Speech.

The Socialist Party of Malden, Mass., which has a ticket in the field for the city election to be held Dec. 8, has issued the following manifesto:

"To the Workingmen Citizens of Malden:—Below are some reasons why the Board of Aldermen of this city refuse the members of the Malden branch of the Socialist Party the constitutional right to use the streets for public meetings, although they allow others to do so. Socialists applied for a permit last June, but up to date no answer has been received.

"1. Because we are a workingman's political party, with the avowed purpose of emancipating our class from wage-slavery.

"2. We mean to transform all the means of production and distribution, such as the workshops, mines, railways, and land of this country into the collective property of all the citizens, to be operated in the interest of all the producers of wealth, so that each may receive the full value of his or her product.

"3. We stand for the abolition of the taking of rent, interest, and profit, by which the toiling masses are fleeced of one-half to three-fourths of the wealth which they produce.

"4. We stand for the principle that the working class of this nation, state, and municipality must capture all elective offices; the powers of government to be utilized by the working class in its own interest to emancipate itself from the domination of the capi-

talist class, who own and control the means of production and distribution which enable them to hold in wage-slavery and subjection the toiling millions of this country.

"Vote for your class interest!"

The Malden Socialist Party Club meets on the first and third Thursday of each month at Ballerla Hall, 66 Pleasant street.

Following is the Socialist city ticket:

For Mayor—Oscar C. Hulman.

First Ward: Alderman—Calvin M. Verbeek. Councilmen—Ernest Blaisdell, William B. Madison, John Robinson.

Fourth Ward: Alderman—Wilbur R. Hatch. Councilmen—George I. Worcester, Frederic R. Atwood, Llewellyn C. Rockhill.

Fifth Ward: Alderman—John D. Williams. Councilmen—John T. Downing, Joseph Stott, George F. Hicche.

Sixth Ward: Alderman—Joseph Cliffe. Councilmen—John A. Peterson, J. Victor Ruelle, Syver Peterson.

Seventh Ward: Alderman—John H. Perry. Councilmen—Alexander Chisholm, Charles G. F. Claus, Edward A. Harney.

SHINGLE MILL TRUST.

TACOMA, Nov. 13.—Four hundred shingle mills in Western Washington are completing the formation of a shingle trust, which will have authority to curtail output and regulate prices with the object of establishing shingle prices throughout the United States. The mills of Western Washington cut more than 50 per cent. of the shingles manufactured in this country.

Buy Union Label Goods.

If you treat it as a light matter, they will not long keep up even the pretense of freedom anywhere.

YOU WILL GET THE GOVERNMENT YOU DESERVE. If you deserve real freedom, you will WIN IT FOR YOURSELVES. If you deserve open slavery, THE CAPITALISTS WILL SEE THAT YOU GET IT.

What are you going to do? Do one thing or the other.

Either blot out the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and the Emancipation Proclamation from your textbooks, throw Faneuil Hall and Mount Vernon into the garbage pile, blot out the stars on your flag and put dollar-marks in their place, forget the Fourth of July, and if you vote next year, vote to disfranchise yourselves forever and put a crown on Rockefeller's head—that would be logical and straightforward and we would know where we stood.

Or else USE your votes for the first time since 1864—and USE YOUR BRAINS FIRST. In order to do it—educate yourselves and your fellow workers, organize yourselves and your fellow workers, educate and organize and agitate and then go to the ballot-box and vote, not against the Copper Trust alone, not against the Standard Oil ring alone, but AGAINST THE WHOLE SYSTEM WHICH GIVES THEM POWER to commit such outrages as this that has been perpetrated in Montana.

It is as true now as it was in Lincoln's day that "THIS NATION CANNOT CONTINUE, HALF FREE AND HALF SLAVE."

We said, a way back: "The Copper Trust had power to starve the people of the state into submission." It has that power so long as it owns the things with which the people work, the means by which the people make their living. So long as it controls their jobs, it controls their public and their private life.

And so soon as the people of Montana or of New York or of any other state or of all the states resolve that they will no longer be hypocritized by respect for paper titles; so soon as they resolve that the things which the workers make and use in industry must belong to the workers, that the means by which the people live must belong to the people; so soon as they consider that the Capital King's power depends on their legal ownership of the means of production, that this legal ownership came out of the ballot-box, that they of the toiling masses put it in their hands in their ignorance and resolve that in their wisdom they will put in a new kind of law in its place—the law that the workers shall collectively own the things with which they work and receive the full value of their product, with not one cent for profit—so soon the overwhelming power of wealth will vanish utterly away.

The power of the Capital King, workmen, is the power you have given them and yearly renew at the polls. Their security is in YOUR THOUGHTLESS APATHY or YOUR WORSE THAN THOUGHTLESS PREJUDICE and in that alone. Shall it continue?

tailist class, who own and control the means of production and distribution which enable them to hold in wage-slavery and subjection the toiling millions of this country.

"Vote for your class interest!"

The Malden Socialist Party Club meets on the first and third Thursday of each month at Ballerla Hall, 66 Pleasant street

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WHAT WEAPONS FOR THE WAR?

By John Spargo.

Stated plainly, the position of the "labor leader" who persuades his followers in the union to refrain from political organization and action, who cries "No politics in the union!" is analogous to that of a general in the United States army who should be foolish enough, or false enough, to say to his men while engaged in battle, "Here, we will not use our most modern and effective equipments against this enemy. Our muskets, Krag-Jorgensen rifles, machine guns, smokeless powder, and other effective equipments of scientific warfare, we will send over to the enemy, and we ourselves will use the spears, clubs, flintlocks and bows and arrows of past times." Whatever the reason for his conduct, whether ignorance or treachery, such a general would not be tolerated for a single moment.

Need I attempt to draw the parallel? Is it not clear enough? I think so. There is not the slightest room for questioning the assertion that the most effective blows ever struck at us by the master class have been in the last analysis political in their character. Bullets and bayonets and policemen's clubs; injunctions and Taft Vale decisions are, as we have already seen, directly traceable to the fact that the master class controls the government of whose power these things are manifestations. Theoretically, the crystallization of the votes of the citizens. Else we have it in our power to retain these weapons in the hands of our own class instead of voting them away to our masters. Is it not self-evident that they who urge us not to refrain from voting them away, not to refuse to retain them for our own purposes, are acting just exactly as the foolish or treacherous army officer of our imagination? And whether they be foolish or corrupt, their counsel is none the less opposed to the best interests of the unions.

What Shall We Do, Mr. Mitchell?

Mr. John Mitchell, in his lately published work, "Organized Labor," makes only a passing reference to the Taft Vale case, and does not even refer to the suits based upon that decision in this country. But he does refer in strong terms to the use of injunctions. "No weapon," he says, "has been used with such disastrous effect against trade unions as the injunction in labor disputes. By means of it trade unionists have been prohibited under severe penalties from doing what they had a legal right to do, and have been specifically directed to do what they had a legal right not to do. It is difficult to speak in measured tones or moderate language of the savagery and venom with which unions have been assailed by the injunction, and to the working classes, as to all fair-minded men, it seems little less than a crime to condone or tolerate it."

This is strong language, but who can tell any that it is too strong when we remember the many injunctions which have been showered upon us since the famous Debs case brought this new and terrible weapon into requisition? Members of the Clinkmakers' Union have been enjoined in New York City even from approaching the employers against whom they were striking with a view to arranging a peaceable settlement. Understand, there was no suggestion of a breach of the peace actual or intended. They were also enjoined from publishing any grievances, if such publication should vex the employers or make them uneasy! In the great steel strike of two years ago the members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers were enjoined from even discussing the matter peacefully with the men who were at work. In the case of the members of the International Typographical Union in the strike against the "Buffalo Express," the strikers were enjoined from boycotting, and, in "free America," mind you, from discussing the strike or talking about the paper in any way which might be construed as against the paper. If one of the strikers advised a friend "not to buy a cent paper," he was liable under the terms of that injunction. In the same way, the members of the Typographical Union, on the application of the "New York Sun," were enjoined from, among other things, publishing their side of the controversy as an argument why persons friendly to labor should not advertise in a paper hostile to labor.

All these things Mr. Mitchell remembers. He refers to them in his book. But what does he advise us to do in the matter? Why, we must "agitate ceaselessly against the abomination." Legislators must be urged to see the "iniquity" of these injunctions, so that they may legislate against the evil. And we must try likewise to so influence the judiciary, because judges will probably be ready enough to declare such legislation "unconstitutional," as was the case in West Virginia, where the Supreme Court decided that the law passed in 1885, limiting the right to issue injunctions was unconstitutional, because the legislature had no right to attempt to restrain the courts which were coordinate with itself.

But if our powers of persuasion fail, if we do not succeed in our evangelizing crusade to convert them, what then? Why, says Mr. Mitchell, perhaps "through the willingness of men to go to jail as was the case in West Virginia, where the Supreme Court decided that the law passed in 1885, limiting the right to issue injunctions was unconstitutional, because the legislature had no right to attempt to restrain the courts which were coordinate with itself."

say: "You want to accomplish certain results in connection with our craft, but you cannot, because you cannot hope to get all the men to join; therefore I will not join." Mr. Mitchell has met that very man; so have we all. That is begging the question, as Mr. Mitchell well knows. Q. As Mr. Mitchell would point out, Mr. Mitchell there are not a few districts in which the votes of organized labor would undoubtedly be sufficient to elect. There are mining districts, for example, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, in which the union vote, if solidly cast, would undoubtedly be sufficient to carry any election, and the presence of at least a group of working-class representatives in Congress and almost every State Legislature would be the result. Such groups could accomplish more for the workers than any conceivable amount of lobbying could do. (4.) There are many thousands of workingmen outside of the unions, men who, for various reasons, cannot be got into the organizations, but who would vote with a party of their own class which made the problems of their lives its only "issues." Such a party is the Socialist Party, as we have seen. No honest and intelligent workingman can read its platform and feel without feeling the force and absolute validity of its claims. And no amount of mind sophistry, dished up in the guise of "conversation," can obscure the fact that the union man who votes against that party, who for any reason votes for candidates of the old parties, is a political scab.

Will There Be Bloodshed? At this time there are peculiar and urgent reasons why we should insist upon a recognition of the stern truth that either this battle which we are waging will be decided by our ballots or it will be decided by the enemy's bullets. I say there are peculiar and urgent reasons why this should be insisted upon now. What are these reasons? Now, I am not, I hope, an alarmist or "cathartic" power. And yet it is imperative that it should be made, that we face frankly and fearlessly whatever lies before us, no matter what it may be. Cassandra's prophecies were not pleasant to dwell upon, and she herself was derided because of them, but they were abundantly fulfilled nevertheless. It seems to me, then, unless and positively dangerous to attempt to ignore the fact that all the signs of the present time portend a coming period of far-reaching industrial depression, fraught with the most serious consequences to the working class.

Mr. Gompers sees this. In his recent address to the A. F. of L. Convention at Boston he said: "There are indications that the era of industrial activity which we have enjoyed during the past few years has reached its flood-tide, in that there is now somewhat of a reaction. Already we see some contraction of industry by which workmen have been rendered idle." That Mr. Gompers is apprehensive of serious results, may be inferred from the lengthy argument which he makes following this utterance, to convince the employers of the unwisdom of reducing the wages of their employees as a means of staying off some of the worst features of the reaction. He naively says at the end of his rather pretentious argument: "I do not know to what extent our declarations and suggestions may influence employers generally in the effort to dissuade them from pursuing the unwise and unbusinesslike policy of wage reductions." If Mr. Gompers does not know there are plenty of less pretentious men in the trade union movement who have read the history of the past to much better advantage, they can enlighten Mr. Gompers and dispel any idea he may entertain of influencing them at all. WAGES ARE ALREADY ON THE DECLINE. IN EVERY PERIOD OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION WAGES FALL TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE, AND EVEN IF THEY DID NOT DECLINE SO LONG AS THE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED MEN INCREASED, THE TOTAL EFFECT UPON THE WORKING CLASS AS A WHOLE WOULD BE THE SAME.

Mr. O'Connell, President of the International Association of Machinists, also sees the dread spectre of industrial depression approaching, but, unlike Mr. Gompers, he does not talk about the possibility of "dissuading" the employers. Instead of this, he advises his men to seek shelter as best they may. In a recent circular letter to the local unions of the I. A. M., he urges that the Westinghouse works dispute, and all other disputes in which members of the association are involved, be settled immediately upon almost any terms, and that no further disputes be entered into for the present. Mr. O'Connell gives the same reasons as Mr. Gompers. Trade is slackening; the unemployed army is increasing in numbers, and wages are already on the down grade. I do not attack Mr. O'Connell's position in this respect; on the contrary, it seems to be a perfectly sound position for him to take. It is well that the limitations of the trade union should thus be seen and admitted by its leaders.

Let Us Learn from the Past. Now, in every period of industrial depression such as is now prevailing on every hand, there has been an awful amount of poverty and suffering in the ranks of the working class. In such times, for example, in the periods of 1873-78 and 1891-94—vast armies of unemployed men in all our great industrial centers suffered the pangs of hunger, and there was only private charity to relieve them in many instances. Yet had there been a working-class government of the nation, as Socialists propose, all the resources of the nation would have been available for that purpose.

In all such periods of depression, too, the madness arising from unemployment and destitution has led to riot and pitiful revolts on the part of the victims. Every period of wage-reduction has led to these, and in every case the workers have been shot down at the shambles. Homestead, Buffalo, Coeur d'Alene, Tracy City, Pullman—these are names which will call up visions of bloody battle and grim defeat to the reader whose memory takes him no further back than the early nineties. In every case the revolt was of desperate men against the masters of their bread, and in every case the revolt ended in bloody and murderous defeat.

COLORADO'S CLASS WAR.

Wholesale Arrests of Striking Miners.

Transparent Story of Strikers' Dynamite Plot Given Out as Pretext for Arbitrary Measures—Ideals "Bull-Pen" Outrages Duplicated.

The daily press is spreading far and wide the most lurid stories of outrages alleged to have been committed or attempted by the striking miners at Cripple Creek, Victor, and other points in Colorado where virtual martial law is now in force. The slightest examination of these stories by an impartial reader, even as they are printed in such papers as the New York "Sun," makes it apparent that they have been made out of whole cloth to serve as a justification for the arbitrary measures employed by the state government in trying to break the strike.

On Saturday, Nov. 21, an explosion took place in the Victor mine near Cripple Creek, in which the superintendent and a miner, the only persons in that part of the mine at the time, were killed. The effect of the explosion was so great that, we are told, it took a full hour before anyone could get to the place where it occurred.

When the "investigators" got there, however, it did not take them long to explain the whole affair. It seems likely that they could as easily have explained it from company headquarters an hour before the explosion took place.

A Transparent Story. This is the story, as told in the "Sun" and other papers: "Investigation showed that the infernal machine, containing several pounds of dynamite, was placed in the shaft, which is PAINTED ON THE ABANDONED WORKINGS OF THE SHAFT. Within a few inches of the shaft, then a loaded revolver was fixed in the shaft, with its muzzle pointing directly toward the infernal machine."

"To the trigger of the revolver was attached a string, which was thrown across the shaft in such a manner that when the cage came down and hit the string the revolver would shoot the bullet, striking the infernal machine. The cage of the revolver had been recovered from the bottom of the shaft. BUT NOT A VESTIGE OF THE INFERNAL MACHINE CAN BE FOUND."

Within a few hours Governor Peabody, the general in command of the troops, and the officers of the mining company, were giving out statements to be wired to the press, to the effect that this diabolical outrage had certainly been deliberately planned and carried out by the miners' Union and that it necessitated drastic measures of repression.

Reading this, one is irresistibly reminded of Mark Twain's account of the methods adopted by the secret tribunal of old aristocratic Venice in dealing with persons accused of treason. If the judges found any evidence against the accused, they had him tied up in a sack and dropped into the Grand Canal; if they could not find any evidence against him, they said: "It is a matter of history that the Standard Oil magnates—the very men who own the Colorado mines—found dynamite convenient, years ago, in getting rid of troublesome competitors. No wonder if it proves useful now against strikers. The mine owners will probably build a monument to the two victims—the more cheerfully, their tongues are forever silenced."

Eighteen active union men were at once arrested on suspicion and thrown into the Bull Pen, and more arrests are expected to follow. The whole affair is a matter of history that the Standard Oil magnates—the very men who own the Colorado mines—found dynamite convenient, years ago, in getting rid of troublesome competitors. No wonder if it proves useful now against strikers. The mine owners will probably build a monument to the two victims—the more cheerfully, their tongues are forever silenced."

How Do They Know All These Things? "Not a vestige of the infernal machine can be found," yet they know the infernal machine was there, can tell just how it was placed, just where the string was attached, and who put it there and why.

It is to be observed, too, that the explosion took place in an abandoned shaft, just in the place where it would cause least damage to the company—just, as in the time of the A. R. U. strike, it was only worn-out and discarded box-cars that were burned to make an excuse for the massacre. It is a matter of history that the Standard Oil magnates—the very men who own the Colorado mines—found dynamite convenient, years ago, in getting rid of troublesome competitors. No wonder if it proves useful now against strikers. The mine owners will probably build a monument to the two victims—the more cheerfully, their tongues are forever silenced."

Some other incidents of the last few days deserve notice in this connection, as this, which we take from the New York "Evening Post" of Tuesday: "VICTOR, Colo., Nov. 24.—Six young boys were arrested and taken to the 'bull pen' yesterday for joining at the troops. They were all released later, but their parents were warned that they must be kept off the streets in future. It is said that when the soldiers went to the home of Mrs. Dodsworth, whose husband, William Dodsworth, was president of the miners' union until three days ago, when he was killed by a mine accident, and tried to arrest her son, she drove them off with a revolver."

A HOPELESS EFFORT.

Glass Blowers, Displaced by New Machines, Dream of a Little Co-operative Plant to Compete with the Trust.

GREENSBURG, Pa.—Thrown out of employment by the installation of glass-making machines in the Jeannette plant of the American Window Glass Company, a half-hundred blowers of Jeannette, with their full complement of gatherers, battemens, and cutters, are organizing a company to build a co-operative plant at a cost of \$100,000.

Over one thousand men were thrown out of employment by the machines in Jeannette, and barely half of them have been able to get positions in the co-operative plants of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The glass blowers have in the past been among the best paid and most independent workmen in the country, but the introduction of machinery within the last year has hit them hard and a progressive reduction of their wages in the inevitable consequence of the throwing of several thousand of their number out of employment.

Most of the blowers, of course, have generally a few hundred or even a few thousand dollars saved up, but the various helpers, whose wages were lower and whose chances of employment are also reduced, suffer much more keenly.

THE PANAMA AFFAIR.

When the American capitalist wants a thing, he goes after it and does not see any particular reason why he should wait upon the properties. So it was the most natural thing in the world that when the commercial interests who needed a Panama Canal did not get the sort of a treaty they wanted passed by the Colombian Congress, to incite a rebellion, change it into a revolution, organize an independent government, establish diplomatic relations and pass a canal treaty "while you wait."

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Neither was anything done toward meeting the new dangers and difficulties raised by the great growth of employers' organizations and their increased use of the powers of the law against the workers.

FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION. New York Central Federated Union Adopts Resolution as Preliminary to such a Step. After listening to addresses by the two British fraternal delegates to the Federation convention—William Mullin, who advocated independent political action by trade unionists, and James O'Grady, who spoke as an avowed Socialist—the New York Central Federated Union last Sunday adopted a motion offered by Delegate Hand of the Carriage and Wagon Makers, providing for the appointment of a committee consisting of five Socialists, five Democrats, and five Republicans, to draw up a suitable labor platform as a basis for independent political action.

FEDERATION CONVENTION.

Socialism Voted Down by 11,262 to 2,145.

Reactionary Wing Came This Time Resolved to Crush the Socialist Side—A Clear Test of Strength Resulted—For Another Year the Federation Will Follow its Antiquated Policy.

The question of a declaration for Socialism came to a vote in the American Federation of Labor convention on Wednesday, Nov. 18—or, to speak more correctly, the adverse report of the committee on all the Socialist resolutions came to a vote on that day.

President Gompers had the last word and, of course, spoke in absolute opposition to any declaration for Socialism. In general terms he accused the Socialists of "very many acts of treachery to the trade union movement," but did not attempt to specify an instance of such treachery. He held that Socialists who are also unionists are inconsistent because they say that the cost of living rises along with the rise of wages and that the increase of wages through the methods of trade unionism is not, therefore, a benefit to the workmen. He held that "with the constant increase of wages, decade by decade, there is a constant increase in the purchasing power of wages."

John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers spoke in opposition to Socialism in the trade unions. He "recognized the right of every man to do as he pleases." He "took it that the wage-earners of this country are able to determine for themselves to what political party they shall belong and for what political candidates they shall cast their votes" and his seemed to him a sufficient reason why they should not discuss in their class organizations what party or candidates to support.

President Shaffer of the Amalgamated Steel Workers declared himself against Socialism of any sort. He stood for "industrial peace." He also stated that when his vote was cast for the Socialist resolution at last year's convention, it was done by mistake.

On roll-call the committee report against the adoption of any of the Socialist resolutions was carried by a vote of 11,262 to 2,145.

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"SHOOT TO HIT."

Chicago Police Instructed How to Treat Strikers.

Board of Aldermen Sits Under Armed Guard, Pretending to Fear Personal Violence, While Voting to Extend Expiring and Forfeited Franchises.

CHICAGO, Ill., Nov. 24.—"Shoot to hit" is the order given out to the large numbers of police who accompany such cars as the City Railway Company succeeds in getting over its lines. The workmen of Chicago have not yet learned to vote so as to "hit" the capitalist class that keeps them in poverty, and so it is not to be wondered at that the power of the city government, supported by workingmen's thoughtless votes is turned against them, in the shape of policemen's revolvers, when they are forced to strike against intolerable overwork, underpayment, and abuse.

The Board of Aldermen made a "grandstand play" in the interests of the street railway company last night, by holding its session under a heavy police guard, under the pretense that the upright legislators of the city were in danger of personal violence from riotous strikers.

With armed officers stationed at the doors and on the floor of the Council Chamber, these representatives of the people proceeded to take action looking to the extension of the expiring and long-since forfeited franchises of the company whose men are now on strike and promptly suppressed all protests against such action, petitions in favor of municipal ownership, and resolutions for submission of franchise ordinances to popular vote.

NOW UTAH'S TURN.

Whole Militia of the State Called Out Against Strikers.

SALT LAKE CITY, Nov. 24.—Governor Wells has decided to send the entire National Guard of Utah into the coal mining district of Carbon County, where the miners have been on strike for the last two weeks. An extra session of the Legislature will be called to provide funds to cover the expenses incurred by the troops.

MINERS MUST NOT TAKE HOLIDAYS.

Anthracite "Operators" Have a Grievance—Indications that They Plan a General Repudiation of Last Year's Settlement. SCRANTON, Pa., Nov. 24.—The Lehigh Valley Coal Company has brought two complaints before the Board of Conciliation set up under the terms of the Anthracite Strike Commission's award, alleging that its miners inordinately insist on taking a half-day off on pay days and refuse to work on holidays when ordered to do so. This, the company says, is in violation of the decision that the mine owners shall "enforce discipline" upon the mine workers.

This action, taken together with the repudiation of the whole arbitration award by the Lehigh Valley Mining Company and by Slatery & Co. and the court decision in the former case declaring that the award is not legally binding on the "operators," as reported last week, is taken to indicate a plan on the part of the mine owners to overthrow the whole modus vivendi established by the Commission, as soon as they get ready for a general wage reduction.

PEONS OF BOTH RACES.

It is significant that the peonage trials in Georgia and Louisiana show that poor white men as well as negroes are being held in a state of virtual chattel slavery. No better confirmation could be asked of the Socialist contention that the real question in the South is not a race question, but one of class interest, just as in the North, and that "it is the interest of white and black workmen to stand together as workmen, not to allow themselves to be divided on color lines for the benefit of capitalists who impartially exploit them both."

"STRIKE RESULTS IN MURDER."

This is the headline that the capitalist dailies put over a Chicago dispatch. The inveterate prejudices of these papers against the labor movement become evident when we find the fact to be, as shown in the dispatch, that it was a striking union pressman who was murdered by a scab foreman. The murderer, by the way, was a "special policeman." Comment is unnecessary.

MANY FAILURES LAST WEEK.

Bradstreet's reports 234 failures in the United States during the week against 250 for the previous week, and 201, 223, 215, and 202 for the corresponding weeks of 1902 to 1903. About 60 per cent. of the total number of concerns failing had capital of \$5,000 or less, and 9 per cent. had from \$5,000 to \$20,000 capital.

NEW YORK. No line drawn on smaller animal.

THE AIR IS CLOSE.

By Horace Traubel.

The air is close. I cannot breathe, cries civilization. Throw open the doors and windows. Let the air in. Civilization is choking with injustice. It has lived too long in the atmosphere of oppression. It has stayed too long in the midst of the crowding multitudes of the dispossessed. Now it calls for room. For the open. For the stars. For freedom. Take down everything that interferes. Take down all walls. Take down incomes. Take down wages. Take down all preferences. Take down your superior manners. Take down your superior clothes. Take down your superior ways. Civilization is gasping for breath. It will die. It will live. Will you kill it? Or will you help to revive its sinking powers? The cry is directed to you—directly to you—whoever you are.

The air is close. A storm is near. Something is going to happen. I do not know what. But something. Civilization lays there very ill. Its lungs are congested. Its brain is thick. Its faith wanes. Can it be kept alive? Can it be restored to its ennobled? Can it be led on to the more inclusive sentiment of humanity? Or is it to be allowed to die here half rescued? Not only not completed. Die in retreat. For lately civilization has not meant advance but retreat. It has not found room ahead. It has done no pioneering. It has been driven back and indoors. It has been confined to a room. It is growing pale and thin. It has called in a nurse. What is to be done? Every day it cries for room. And every night, its cry is the cry of the future. Its cry is the cry of the hunted. Take your bounds off. Take your millions away. Stop the chase. Take your trusts away. Take your estates away. Make room for civilization. Have you supposed that civilization can exist where there is no room? Do you think that civilization can prosper in the perpetuated dark? The air is heavy. Civilization there on its bed groans and writhes for a chance to live. What have you done? You have driven it to bay. You have forced it back to the last trench. You have given it no options and refused it all vista. You have left it there to die. You have called in the doctors. The false doctors. They have all prescribed. They have administered drugs. They have added poison to poison. They have tried to cure it. It has not brought civilization off its sick bed. The quackeries quacked but would not cure. The patient has not needed your drugs. Your Roosevelt, your Sunday schools, your palliative sentences and the arts of your polite leisure. It has needed only one thing. Fresh air. Always fresh air. Why do you not give it fresh air?

The air is close. I do not think civilization can survive many more days with things just as they are. There must be some way of getting it free. Some way of getting rid of the obstructing debris. Some way of opening to it the sources of life. Do not bring your colleges. They are of no use. Do not bring the professors and the doctors. Do not bring the editors and the reviewers. Do not bring anyone. First of all get out of the way yourself. Give civilization a chance. Let it alone. If you must bring anybody bring the people. Do not bring the castes. Do not bring the elect. Do not bring influence and position. Bring the outlaws. The wage-workers. The failures. The brainless. The unfortunates. Bring the man everybody hates. Bring the cause. Everybody distrusts. Bring them. But do not bring any preferred person. I think a storm is well brewed. I think a storm will soon break. I think that is the reason the atmosphere is so thick and civilization has such a hard time keeping its breath. And I think that if the storm does not break soon civilization will have departed from civilization altogether.

For as far as it has not and never enough to its civilization. It has kept its practice too far aloof from its promise. It has disintegrated. It has permitted its blood to get impoverished. Nothing but a storm can give it. Room for all the fresh air to give it. Room for ideas to move about. Room for love to find itself. If the doctors will only go out perhaps the fresh air will come in. Something must break soon. Walls, fences, roofs—anything that crimps and confines. Civilization is sickly, faded and drugged nearly to death. Now let us see what the fresh air can do. Let us see what the storm can do.

The air is close. You take great pride in your civilization. But your civilization is a sickly affair. It is like to die and you do not know it. You have made it a plaything. You have made it a tyrant. You have resorted to it as a source of crime. You have made it anti-social. You bring it in as though it was something extra fine. You travel the world over with its stocks and bonds. But after all your civilization is in danger. It is threatened with dissolution. You have made it too delicate for any weather. Yet it must be prepared to stand any weather. To be eager for any weather, hard or easy. You have got somehow to get it up off its bed. You have got to get it into the open air. You have vitiated it with your luxuries. With your private fortunes. With your poor and rich. With your castes. With your universities crowded by robbery. With your charities and your jails. What will you do to meet the storm? What will you do to make the storm easy for civilization? For the storm is sure to come. You have built such obstructions in the road that nothing but a fierce blow will remove them. You may be able to soften the shock. But the storm will come. I see civilization tossing on its bed, fevered, sweating, phantoms, dreaming of broken promises and forfeited ideals. Gasping, grasping, choking, calling. Sick near to death. Delirious. Sick of you. Sick of me. Sick of what we have falsely done for it. Sick of incomes. Sick of wages. Sick of professors and priests. Sick of high and low. Sick of seeing the tiny children go to work. Sick of seeing the highest and broadest young

SWAYED BY THE WIND.

By Franklin H. Wentworth.

The newspapers doing capitalist service are jubilant. Socialism has been set back in Massachusetts; the Colorado Socialists have been ousted after a Populist judge; the American Federation of Labor has issued its perfunctory injunction. These things would set faint hearts a flutter if they meant anything to Socialism. But they do not.

Socialism has not been set back in Massachusetts, and no single Socialist in Colorado has cast his vote for a Populist judge. Socialism is a philosophy, a growth. It is not a series of political spasms. Deep down in the sub-aqueous soul, constantly and irresistibly growing, biding its moment of apparition, it recks not of the petty tempests that stir the illies.

Socialism is like the mice of the fable, eating holes in the present body-politic, by means of which the lion of Social Democracy shall be liberated and shall come into power.

The world will have Socialism when the workers of the world merit it, and are ready for it. They must feel able to replace present society with a new force and power. They are not ready for this until a majority of them understand Socialism and are ready to practice it, and live the Socialist life of service. Until this time comes Socialist success at the polls will be dearly bought; for while a majority of the working class is outside the Socialist movement and does not comprehend the aims and hopes of its own class, every effort at collective administration by Socialists in office will be balked and discredited by the lieutenants of capitalism, naming this ignorant majority as a bulwark. They will have the inertia of customary usage on their side. They will be swayed by a feather. The working class in brass buttons will club and shoot the working class in jumpers.

IT IS ABSOLUTELY AND VITALLY IMPERATIVE THAT NO SOCIALIST SHALL BE ELECTED TO ANY OFFICE WHATSOEVER UNLESS HE IS ELECTED TO SUCH OFFICE BY SOCIALIST VOTES.

announced that M. C. D. Borien will join the other cotton-mill owners in cutting wages 10 per cent. His mills employ 7,500 hands.

PARTY NEWS.

National Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report:

J. I. Cobb, Dos Palos, Cal., \$1; Local Landford, Pa., \$1; W. E. Martin, Silverton, Colo., \$1; Robert E. Nicholson, Philadelphia, Pa., \$1; Local Lynden, Wash., \$3; E. E. Martin, Leaside, Wash., \$1.25; Local McCabe, Ariz., \$1; Local West Palm Beach, Fla., \$1; Geo. D. Santer, St. Louis, Mo., \$1; Local Chillicothe, Mo., nineteenth purchase of one of the 25 shares of the Chas. H. Kerr Co-operative Publishing Co., donated by W. E. Walling. (This leaves six shares yet unsold, \$10; Edward H. Clarke, New York City, 50 cents; Henry B. Clarke, Mystic, Conn., 25 cents; Henry L. Shobdon, New York City, 25 cents; Paul P. Gidney, Athol, Mass., 25 cents; W. R. Dawler, San Francisco, Cal., 50 cents; Geo. A. Knip, Newark, N. J., \$1; Samuel Weiler, Marion, Ga., 50 cents. Total to date, \$21.50. Previously reported, \$2,178.82. Total, \$2,200.32.

James P. Carey and Wentworth.

James P. Carey will begin a Western tour, under the direction of national headquarters, either late in December or early in January. Locals desiring Carey's services can facilitate the making of arrangements by writing to their respective state secretaries or the national office as soon as possible. Communications about Carey's tour should not be addressed to him personally. For full information about terms, etc., address the National Secretary, Social Party, Omaha, Neb.

Franklin and Marion Wentworth of Chicago will make a lecturing tour through Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts, beginning in January. There are few more able lecturers on the Socialist platform than Franklin Wentworth, whose editorial work in the "Socialist Spirit," and for the Socialist press generally, has attracted widespread attention for its brilliancy and incisiveness. With Mrs. Wentworth, who, as a dramatic reader, has few superiors in America, these two make a combination for the lecturing platform which can hardly be beat. They will travel under the exclusive direction of the national headquarters, and localities will be applied direct, either by their state secretaries or the National Secretary, of the terms and other information.

Arrangements for Carey and the Wentworths will be made far enough apart so that there will be no conflict, a series of four lectures.

New York City.

At Colonial Hall, 11st street, near Columbus avenue, on Sunday evening, Nov. 29, H. Gaylord Wilshire will speak on "The Impending Unemployment Problem and its Solution," and during December George D. Herron will deliver a series of four lectures.

The Kings County Committee will meet Saturday evening, Nov. 28, at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 940 W. 11th street.

The Jewish Branch of the 15th A. D. of Brooklyn holds a discussion in Yiddish every Monday evening in Union Hall, corner Varet and Graham avenues, to which all interested are invited. All members of the 4th A. D. are urged to be present at meeting to be held Friday evening, Nov. 27, at 282 East Broadway, at which referendum will be voted on.

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Women's Society was held Nov. 12, at which all branches were represented except

Sympathetic votes are dangerous. They raise false hopes, undermine calculation, and they forsake the standard at the first attack.

The American Labor Union in the West declared for the Socialist Party. But declarations and resolutions do not make Socialists.

If they did no workingman of Colorado would have bolted to a Populist judge. A man who can be made a Socialist by a resolution one day can be made a Republican by another resolution the next.

All the Socialists in the American Labor Union in Colorado voted the Socialist ticket. The workingmen who voted for the Populist judge were not Socialists. No Socialist forsakes his organization, riveted by bonds of intelligent class-conscious determination, to leap into the rickety apple-cart of the first jurist who does not clap him in jail.

If a good judge can scatter Socialist votes by a mere show of honest sympathy toward the working class, a bad judge could do the same thing by taking capitalist money and pretending to be sympathetic.

Socialist votes are cast for Socialism. They register a conviction; not transient admiration for individuals.

A special vehicle has been built with much suffering and sacrifice to carry this conviction. It is the Socialist Party. Votes otherwise cast are not Socialist votes; they are capitalist votes, and they should be so counted. The men who voted the Socialist ticket in Massachusetts last year because they were short of coal are not Socialists.

The Socialist votes for Socialism whether his coin-bill is empty or full. Socialism is a philosophy; not a hysteria. Political reverses which weed out hysteria are not defeats; they are victories.

The gain by the party of a single class-conscious workingman is a fact. At Lynn, holds more of potent value to Socialism than any resolution the American Federation of Labor might have offered at Boston.

Branches 12 and 21. Reports from all branches show satisfactory progress. Contributions to the S. D. P. campaign fund were as follows: Branch 13, Philadelphia, \$10; Branch 22, Philadelphia, \$10; Branch 1, Long Island City, \$10; Branch 6, Elizabeth, \$30. For agitation purposes the following amounts were donated to the Central Committee: Branch 6, Elizabeth, N. J., \$10; Branch 5, Union Hill, N. J., \$5; Branch 9, East New York, \$10; Branch 11, Jersey City Heights, \$5; Branch 18, Jersey City, \$10; Branch 20, New York City, \$10; Branch 23, New York City, \$10; Branch 24, New York City, \$10; Branch 25, New York City, \$10; Branch 26, New York City, \$10; Branch 27, New York City, \$10; Branch 28, New York City, \$10; Branch 29, New York City, \$10; Branch 30, New York City, \$10; Branch 31, New York City, \$10; Branch 32, New York City, \$10; Branch 33, New York City, \$10; Branch 34, New York City, \$10; Branch 35, New York City, \$10; Branch 36, New York City, \$10; Branch 37, New York City, \$10; Branch 38, New York City, \$10; Branch 39, New York City, \$10; Branch 40, New York City, \$10; Branch 41, New York City, \$10; Branch 42, New York City, \$10; Branch 43, New York City, \$10; Branch 44, New York City, \$10; Branch 45, New York City, \$10; Branch 46, New York City, \$10; Branch 47, New York City, \$10; Branch 48, New York City, \$10; Branch 49, New York City, \$10; 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The Worker.

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Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.—NO. 38.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 6, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

FOR THE DAILY.

A Timely Call to Renewed Activity.

Workingmen Co-operative Publishing Association Elects New Officers and Asks Comrades Everywhere to Hasten the Advent of the "Daily Globe."

The November meeting of the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association, which is to publish the coming daily Socialist newspaper, was held at the Labor Lyceum on Wednesday evening, Nov. 20, Comrade Kraft acting as chairman. The meeting was well attended and the comrades present all pledged themselves to begin anew the work of raising the necessary fund for the Daily Globe.

In order to obtain the best results and not to overburden one man, the association decided to divide the work and elect one comrade to take charge of the collection of all pledges and one to superintend the collection of funds from labor organizations. The selection of a member to perform the latter duty was left to the Board of Management. O. Wegner was chosen to attend to the collection of pledges; his address is 11 Cooper Square, New York, where all comrades are requested to send money on account of pledges, or contributions for the Daily Globe Fund. Comrade Wegner proposes to collect all the outstanding pledges this winter and calls upon all comrades who have made pledges to begin sending in installments at once. Comrade Wegner also wants the co-operation of every Assembly District branch to assist him in collecting these pledges and calls upon such organizations to immediately take steps to collect the pledges already made by comrades in the respective districts.

It was decided to send out a call for funds to every Socialist paper in America and to request them to open their columns for acknowledging receipt of funds for the Daily Globe. Warren Atkinson of Brooklyn was elected President of Association; Dr. J. Halpern was elected Treasurer, and Comrades Herron, Hillquit, Lemon, Gerber, Fraser, Wegner, and Melchenko were elected Trustees.

The meeting also decided to call upon the New York and Brooklyn Committees to elect three members from each body, to serve as the Advisory Board. The work will be again renewed with the vigor and earnestness which only men pledged to a cause such as ours can maintain. And it is hoped that the enthusiastic support of every Socialist will be given them in this effort to promote the cause of Socialism.

In accordance with instructions, the Secretary has issued the following

CALL FOR FUNDS.

To the Socialists of the United States of America.

Comrades:—For the past eighteen months, the Socialists of New York and vicinity have been at work raising funds for the establishment of the first daily Socialist and trade union newspaper in the United States, to be called the "New York Globe." By hard work and constant effort, we have managed to collect over \$13,000 in cash; an additional sum of about \$6,000 has been pledged and will be paid in this winter. With several hundred dollars more already pledged by the more progressive trade unions the sum of \$25,000 is already in sight. As it will require a capital of at least \$50,000 to successfully launch and uphold a daily newspaper in the city of New York, where we shall have to combat and compete with the largest capitalist dailies in the country, a larger amount than we have on hand at present is needed, and we therefore again call the attention of all Socialists of America to the grand undertaking of the New York comrades and appeal to them to help us in our efforts by contributing such amounts to the Daily Globe Fund as each one individually can afford to give for this purpose.

The establishment of the first Socialist daily is a matter which should concern and interest every Socialist in America. It is not a local matter but one of national importance to the Socialist movement. The publication of the daily will have a beneficial effect upon the movement all over the land and will strengthen the Socialist Party organization in every state. Comrades, we therefore appeal to you in behalf of the cause of Socialism and the speedy adoption of Socialist principles, which can best be accomplished through the medium of a daily Socialist press, to contribute at once to the fund for the establishment of the Daily Globe.

The Daily Globe should be published during the Presidential campaign and if every Socialist in the country will contribute we shall have enough money to begin publication in the near future.

Address all communications to "Daily Globe," Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth Street, New York City.

At the meeting of the Board of Managers of the Daily Globe, held last week Comrades Reichenthal, Lemon, Wegner, Butcher, Atkinson, and Fraser were present. Comrade Atkinson volunteered to take charge of the trade union work temporarily. Comrade Fraser was elected secretary of the association. It was decided that each assembly district be requested to elect one man to take charge of the collection on pledges in the respective districts and that the districts be urged to impress upon their members the necessity of promptly paying their dues to the Workingmen's Co-operative Publishing Association. Comrade Butcher agreed to serve as financial secretary until such an officer be elected at the next meeting of the association.

CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION.

National Body to Be Organized at Chicago.

To Fight Labor Legislation and to Organize the Sympathetic Lockout and Blacklist on a National Scale the Main Objects.

A convention is to be held in Chicago next week to form a national association of building contractors. Among the cities represented will be New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Toledo, Cedar Rapids, Jackson (Minn.), Cincinnati, Newark, Reading, East St. Louis, and Erie.

The objects of the proposed association are stated as follows:
"To advance and protect the interests of the contractors.
"To secure equitable treatment in their dealings with their employees.
"To encourage organization and the formation of associations of contractors."
"To regulate conditions among building contractors.
"To devise means for the better advancement of the interests of the contractors."

"To maintain peace and harmony between the employer and the employee.
"The basis of the settlement of all disputes should be conciliation and arbitration.
"The sympathetic strike should be absolutely prohibited.
"Where conditions are proper and employees' associations exist, agreements to be made with them.
"A uniform form of agreement be adopted and used in making joint agreements, wages being adjusted according to local conditions.
"All agreements are to embody the following principles: There shall be no restriction of the use of machinery or tools. There shall be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison-made. No person shall have the right to interfere with the workman during working hours. The use of apprentices shall not be prohibited. The foreman shall be the agent of the employer. All workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit. All employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit."

The Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City is to be represented. It is interesting to note that, while the scheme outlined above is a clear declaration for the "open shop" idea, President Edlitz of the New York Employers' Association declares emphatically against that idea. The reason of this is, of course, that this association, by means of its lockout of last summer, has forced a good proportion of the local building trades unions to sign agreements which make them practically powerless against the bosses. While this is the New York bosses are very willing to "recognize the unions."

President Edlitz also said: "Much can be done in the matter of legislation. That is one lesson we have learned from the labor unions. They are constantly in this state introducing bills ostensibly for the protection of life and limb, which when passed, and they often are passed, prove very burdensome to the trade."
It is indeed "burdensome" to Brother Capital that he should be restrained from compelling Brother Labor to work with the most unwholesome machinery that suits Brother Capital's pocketbook to provide, of that he should ever be required to pay damages when Brother Labor is maimed or killed for his profit. "Much" can be done in the matter of legislation.

The most striking thing, however, in the following passage from the interview with President Edlitz, given in the "Times" last Sunday:
"In handling strikes a national organization can be useful in PREVENTING THE MEN ON STRIKE FROM FLOCKING TO ANOTHER CITY AND OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT WHERE TRADE IS BUSIER. Many a strike has been lost by the employment in that way. The national association, immediately after a strike began, could send out a notice of it to all the affiliated local associations, with a list of the men on strike, and the members of the local associations would be pledged not to give employment to any of these men while the strike lasted."

That is to say, according to Edlitz's idea, the great foundation of the new association will be to organize the lockout and blacklist—THE SYMPATHETIC LOCKOUT AND BLACKLIST, be it noted—on national lines. In this, he will certainly find himself at one with the other contractors.

The war grows fiercer. The lines are ever more sharply drawn. The sooner comes the day when the workers must use the all powerful weapon they have hitherto neglected—the Socialist ballot.

ART UNDER CAPITALISM.
"The musical critic is kicking because he has two big concerts in addition to the grand opera." "But I don't expect him to do the opera—the fashion editor will cover that."—Cleveland Record-Herald.

He—"How did you enjoy the opera?" She—"Oh, it was just splendid." He—"Really? But it was all French, wasn't it?" She—"Oh, no! Of course, some of the handsomest ones were undoubtedly Parisian, but there were many pretty gowns that were evidently made here."—Philadelphia Press.

—The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.
Buy Union Label Goods.

LABOR PARTY.

PLAN DROPPED.

C. F. U. Decides Not to Make a Fiasco.

Socialists Refuse to Serve on Proposed Three-Party Committee to Plan for "Independent Politics." No Common Ground for Consistent Action—Socialism versus Capitalism is the Plain Issue.

Last Sunday's session of the New York Central Federated Union demonstrated that there is no probability of an "independent labor party" being successfully launched in this city to divide the votes of the wage-workers who are learning to revolt against capitalist exploitation and that the political lines will continue to be clearly drawn between the old parties, standing for the continuance of class rule, and the Social Democratic Party, standing for the complete emancipation of labor. The resolution adopted at the previous meeting, providing for the appointment of a committee of fifteen—five Democrats, five Republicans and five Social Democrats—to work out plans for independent political action, was apparently the product of a moment of thoughtless enthusiasm. A week's consideration had evidently convinced the majority of the delegates that there is no need and no place for another labor party, that those who approve of capitalism should stick to their old parties, which give "the vote thing," and that those who object to it are adequately represented by the Social Democratic Party and ought to support it.

The President, at last Sunday's session, began by announcing the names of the Socialists whom he wished to appoint to the committee. Obermayer, Kaufmann, Richards, Dietrich, and Kilgus were named. Kilgus at once declined, briefly and clearly explaining that he stood for the whole Socialist program and would not stultify himself by going on a committee with men who believed in quite opposite principles to work out a plan that would be foredoomed to accomplish no good and only to confuse the issue. Kaufmann stated that he was not a member of the Social Democratic Party, though he supported it, and the others declined in the same manner as had Kilgus. The President then named Bryce and Wolff, but both declined to serve. Turning then to the old parties, the President proceeded with nominations, but here, too, a large part of those named expressed unwillingness to take part in a project that was so evidently futile.

Morris Brown struck the keynote when he declared that the delegates did not represent their unions in this matter, that they could act only as individuals, and that it was impossible to make a labor party that would amount to anything but the mere action of leaders. If the rank and file had considered the question and acted upon it, it might be a different proposition, but here, too, a large part of those named expressed unwillingness to take part in a project that was so evidently futile.

General Bell, in command of the militia, and virtual despot of this region at present, has forbidden all communication between the men arrested on the charge of conspiracy in the Vincennes mine affair and their friends outside. General Bell said this morning: "We will not permit any 'copy' to be passed out at all. Keniston and the other members of the miners' Executive Committee may issue all the ultimatums they please, but their magic words will not be heard outside the Bull Pen. Until a new ultimatum committee is appointed on the outside the public will not hear any more explanation as to how the Vincennes explosion was caused by an accident."

If Governor Peabody, General Bell and the capitalists from whom they take instructions have their way, the public will not hear any explanation except that which suits the mine owners' purposes; but the arbitrary measures being taken by them are causing many people to form their own conjectures.

A battalion of colored men is being formed, the idea being that on a case of race prejudice and all the old grudges that have grown out of it, they will be more ready to fire on white miners than other white men would be.

Among the ordinances now received from the United States government are 15,000 of the new "riot cartridges," each containing two lead balls.

Notwithstanding their strenuous efforts, their offers of liberal pay to strike-breakers, and the hearty support given them by the authorities, mine owners are finding very few men willing to scab and the strikers are holding out well.

TURNER MASS MEETING.
Demonstration of Protest Against Deportation of Aliens on Grounds of Political Opinion Called for Coöperative Union on Dec. 3.

The committee charged with the defense of John Turner, whom the United States government has ordered to be deported on the ground that he is an Anarchist, and more especially on account of his outspoken recognition of the class struggle between the wage-workers and their capitalist exploiters, has called a mass meeting of protest against such governmental interference with the rights of conscience and free speech, to be held in Cooper Union on Thursday evening, Dec. 3. Among the speakers announced are Robert Baker, John DeWitt Warner, Ernest H. Crosby, Henry Frank, and Bolton Hall.

While Turner is an opponent of Social Democracy, as are also many of those actively concerned in his defense, the case is one which keenly interests Social Democrats and the comrades should manifest their disapproval of the despotic tendency of the government by attendance at the protest meeting and by all other means at their disposal.

A FILIPINO OPINION.
The old Filipino statesman spoke liberally and in a tone of conviction. "There seems to be only one way to induce the Americans to recognize our government," he said, "but unfortunately, it is impracticable for us to move to Panama and take arms against the Colombians."—The Public.

FROM COLORADO.

Roosevelt Sends Rifles and Riot Cartridges.

Republican Governor Peabody, Emulating Record of Democrat Stewenberg, Proposes to "Wipe Out" Socialism and Unionism—Talks Cheerfully of Shooting Pickets.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25.—The War Department has honored the requisition of the Governor of Colorado for 1,000 Krag-Jorgensen rifles and clothing supplies and other equipment for 1,000 men. These are supplied under the provisions of the Dick Mollis Law. The requisition is made at this time because of the calling out of the militia consequent to the miners' strike.

DENVER, Colo., Nov. 25.—"If the Sheriff of Min. Miguel County wants the armed union pickets at the Tom Boy and other mines fired upon by the militia, he will only have to say the word," said Governor Peabody at noon in reference to a report that the militia had been given instructions to fire when they met the pickets.

"The troops are at the disposal of Sheriff Rutilan. Whatever he wants will be complied with by Major Hill. If the pickets are armed or are disorderly and the Sheriff thinks that the only way to deal with them is by shot and shell, then Major Hill will open fire."

Another pronouncement of Governor Peabody's was given out through the press as follows:
"We will fight it out in Colorado if it takes every able-bodied man in this state and some who are disabled, to the end that law and order is maintained and Socialism, Anarchy and Moyerism are wiped off the earth and there isn't a grass spot left to assassinate, dynamite, molest, disturb, or in any manner interfere with the commercial conditions and the peace of illustrious Colorado, with her unlimited possibilities—the greatest in all the world in each and every respect."

"Moyerism," he it understood, means trade unionism, Charles H. Moyer being the president of the Western Federation of Miners.

It was also given out from the Governor's press bureau to-day that he and Adjutant-General Bell had received a number of anonymous letters threatening their lives. The papers are full of stories of dynamite outrages, train-wrecking plots, murders, anonymous letters, and the like, which are generally retracted after a day or two and a new supply promptly issued.

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A SOCIALIST'S ACCEPTANCE.

Clear Declaration of Our Principles.

Letter of Olof Bokelund, Socialist Candidate for Mayor, Excites the Worker—Evening Post—A Typical Lookout in Southbridge.

WORCESTER, Mass.—Olof Bokelund wrote the following letter to the City Committee of the Socialist Party in acceptance of the nomination as candidate for Mayor:

"Gentlemen:—Having been notified that you have conferred upon me the great honor of selecting me as your standard-bearer, in this municipal campaign, I will make a few statements in acceptance of the nomination. At no other stage of a movement is an active participation in its work fraught with so much peril or program with so much lasting honor as in its early formative stage, or during the stage when its battles are fought. It is during such periods that the truly great men of the world have been made and come to the surface.

"I, therefore, consider it a great honor to serve the Socialist Party, even in one of its humblest positions, and never did a movement exist that was loftier in its aims, wider in its scope, or more sincere in its purpose.

"It will be the last, because successful effort, to throw off the yoke of economic bondage, and enable the producer to control the means of his livelihood and get the full product of his labor. It is a self-evident truth that he who controls the tools wherewith wealth is made, controls the wealth which it makes. Therefore, it is the aim of the Socialist Party to take possession of the tools of production, to be owned collectively by the whole people, and to be operated by the whole people as they are now being operated by the working class. Such a change in the ownership of the tools of production would be in the interest of the working class which is now dispossessed of these tools, but would be against the interests of the capitalist class, which, by virtue of its control of these tools, is enabled to live in luxury on the product of the workman's labor.

Demot Represent Both Classes.
"Because of this antagonism of interests between the working class and the employing class, it would be impossible for me, were I elected Mayor of Worcester, to represent the interests of both these classes; and it is equally impossible for the candidates of the capitalist parties to represent the capitalist class and the working class at the same time. The truth is being demonstrated so forcibly every year in the innumerable conflicts between workmen and employers, that the dullest man could comprehend it had they courage and independence enough to give the subject earnest consideration.

"In these conflicts, all the powers of government are mercilessly thrown against the workers, police, militia, and courts. And it makes no difference which of the capitalist parties prevails in the political power. A Republican judge could not issue injunctions against the unions and attach their funds with a more evident pleasure than do the Democratic judges, and it is a question whether a Republican president derives any more enjoyment from his act of sending government troops into Idaho to break up a strike there, than a Democratic president derives from sending troops into Illinois to break up a railroad strike there.

"As an agent of the union, I would have no choice between being thrown out of a public building under erection while a Democratic mayor reigned in the city hall or while a Republican held that office. Let those who have experienced both in the city of Worcester tell us which they liked the best.

"With a Socialist mayor and a Socialist city government, the men working for the city and the men erecting our public buildings would get union wages and conditions, because the Socialist Party is in the field for no other purpose than to give the workers not only union wages, but the full product of their toil. With a Socialist mayor, the wage earners would, in case of a strike, have the support and protection of the city's executive powers instead of being clubbed and maltreated. A Socialist government can be elected only by workmen's votes, and would, therefore, be under obligation to no other class, and consequently a Socialist mayor would always be asking himself: 'What is for the best interest of the workers, and how can I best bring about the emancipation of the working class?'

Workers Always Right.
"Such a stand only a Socialist can take, because a Socialist knows that the working class is always right when in conflict with the capitalist class. Not always wise, but always right. To my fellow union men I would say: Look at Southbridge and learn wisdom. The union men of Southbridge are getting what they voted for.

"To the business men, I have no praise. For the small business men there is only trouble ahead, and when the trusts get through with them, they will see their economic salvation in Socialism. In the meantime we shall go on building up out of the working class the mightiest party that ever united its ranks on the American soil. Every vote for Socialism means a weakening of the enemy and consequent concessions to the workers, but every workman's vote for one of

the capitalist parties means more sufferings, more tears, more shame and degradation for the workman's wife and daughter, and less faith in himself.

"When workmen will vote against the class they strike against, we will be delivered from these business administrations, and have honest, righteous, commonsense administration in their place.

"I hope for an intelligent co-operation of the workers at the polls. I am, 'Yours for Socialism,'
"OLOF BOKELUND."

The Southbridge Lookout.

Last month in the neighboring city of Southbridge, to which Comrade Bokelund refers, the American Optical Company and four other concerns, by joint agreement, locked out their employees to the number of nearly 1,000 men. It was announced in each case that the factory was closed "for the purpose of reorganization" and what this meant became clear when all who wanted work upon the re-opening of the factories were asked to sign the following statement: "I hereby affirm that I am a member of no labor union whatsoever, and agree that I will not join such union while in the employ of said company without giving it a week's notice, in writing, of my intention of doing so."

Bokelund's letter of acceptance threw the Worcester "Evening Post" into a spasm of horrified indignation which that paper gives vent to in a long, double column, leading editorial. The "Post" emits a shriek at the Socialist program of working class legislation, while admiring its "refreshing frankness," and meets it with an old quotation—"there must be classes, but no class shall rule," which, being translated, means that class division must be maintained and that therefore no class but the capitalist class must rule.

At the municipal election the workmen of Worcester will have a chance to choose between capitalist class rule and working class rule and if they wish proof of the fact that the interests of the two classes are so absolutely opposed that all legislation, as long as capitalist lasts, must be class legislation, they have only to look to the Southbridge slavepens where their brothers may not work save at a master's whim.

WHERE DOES SHAFFER STAND?

His Declaration at Boston against "Socialism of Any Kind" Astonishes Steel Workers Who Have Heard Him Speak in Contrary Terms Elsewhere.
To the Editor of The Worker:—In your report of the American Federation of Labor convention this week, you say as follows: "President Shaffer of the Amalgamated Street Vendors declared himself against Socialism of any sort. He stood for 'industrial peace.' He also stated that when his vote was cast for the Socialist resolution at last year's convention, it was done by mistake."

It is possible that the above report is correct? I have heard Shaffer on more than one occasion declaring himself in favor of Socialism and even saying that he believed in Communism. Could you give the exact words that he used at Boston?

Who was the capitalist that said he was a Republican in a Republican state and a Democrat in a Democratic state, but that he was an Erie man all the time? Are some of our labor leaders trying this trick? If so they are going to get left.

Please give us all the information you can as to the above and oblige,
A STEEL WORKER.
Ashland, Ky., Nov. 20.

In reply to the foregoing questions The Worker would state that the remarks of President Shaffer are given in the official "Report of Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor," ninth day, page 4 (morning session), as follows:

"I respect the leader of the opposition against the report of the committee, and know Brother Hayes to be a conscientious, earnest, straightforward man, and honest. I have no desire to array myself against him or against the tendency which he has advanced; but I do desire to set myself in proper position before the trades unionists of the country. It has been asserted and published that I voted for a Socialist resolution in the New Orleans Convention. It is absolutely untrue. During the convention which was held in New Orleans, it was necessary that I go across the river to Algiers, to deliver an address upon the subject of trades unionism there, and I left my voting power with a co-delegate who, I thought, believed as I did, but who unfortunately for me, and for a great many other people, was a Socialist, and he deposited my vote with the Socialist proposition. I ask the careful attention of the reportorial representatives here to this statement. I want it understood distinctly that I do not stand for Socialism of any kind. When expressions are made here promissive of industrial war, I stand for industrial peace."

On page 9 of the same report (afternoon session), Mr. Shaffer is reported as voting to concur in the committee's report against all the Socialist resolutions.

"You cannot make a more acceptable Christmas present to your Socialist friend than a copy of Morris Hillquit's 'History of Socialism in the United States.' Price, \$1.50. Order of the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York."

"The Socialist Army" is out of print. It will probably be reissued in a few weeks, with some additional material.

CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION.

National Body to Be Organized at Chicago.

To Fight Labor Legislation and to Organize the Sympathetic Lockout and Blacklist on a National Scale the Main Objects.

A convention is to be held in Chicago next week to form a national association of building contractors. Among the cities represented will be New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Toledo, Cedar Rapids, Jackson (Minn.), Cincinnati, Newark, Reading, East St. Louis, and Erie.

The objects of the proposed association are stated as follows:
"To advance and protect the interests of the contractors.
"To secure equitable treatment in their dealings with their employees.
"To encourage organization and the formation of associations of contractors."

"To regulate conditions among building contractors.
"To devise means for the better advancement of the interests of the contractors."
"To maintain peace and harmony between the employer and the employee.
"The basis of the settlement of all disputes should be conciliation and arbitration.
"The sympathetic strike should be absolutely prohibited.
"Where conditions are proper and employees' associations exist, agreements to be made with them.
"A uniform form of agreement be adopted and used in making joint agreements, wages being adjusted according to local conditions.
"All agreements are to embody the following principles: There shall be no restriction of the use of machinery or tools. There shall be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison-made. No person shall have the right to interfere with the workman during working hours. The use of apprentices shall not be prohibited. The foreman shall be the agent of the employer. All workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit. All employers are at liberty to employ and discharge whomsoever they see fit."

The Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City is to be represented. It is interesting to note that, while the scheme outlined above is a clear declaration for the "open shop" idea, President Edlitz of the New York Employers' Association declares emphatically against that idea. The reason of this is, of course, that this association, by means of its lockout of last summer, has forced a good proportion of the local building trades unions to sign agreements which make them practically powerless against the bosses. While this is the New York bosses are very willing to "recognize the unions."

President Edlitz also said: "Much can be done in the matter of legislation. That is one lesson we have learned from the labor unions. They are constantly in this state introducing bills ostensibly for the protection of life and limb, which when passed, and they often are passed, prove very burdensome to the trade."
It is indeed "burdensome" to Brother Capital that he should be restrained from compelling Brother Labor to work with the most unwholesome machinery that suits Brother Capital's pocketbook to provide, of that he should ever be required to pay damages when Brother Labor is maimed or killed for his profit. "Much" can be done in the matter of legislation.

The most striking thing, however, in the following passage from the interview with President Edlitz, given in the "Times" last Sunday:
"In handling strikes a national organization can be useful in PREVENTING THE MEN ON STRIKE FROM FLOCKING TO ANOTHER CITY AND OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT WHERE TRADE IS BUSIER. Many a strike has been lost by the employment in that way. The national association, immediately after a strike began, could send out a notice of it to all the affiliated local associations, with a list of the men on strike, and the members of the local associations would be pledged not to give employment to any of these men while the strike lasted."

That is to say, according to Edlitz's idea, the great foundation of the new association will be to organize the lockout and blacklist—THE SYMPATHETIC LOCKOUT AND BLACKLIST, be it noted—on national lines. In this, he will certainly find himself at one with the other contractors.

The war grows fiercer. The lines are ever more sharply drawn. The sooner comes the day when the workers must use the all powerful weapon they have hitherto neglected—the Socialist ballot.

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He—"How did you enjoy the opera?" She—"Oh, it was just splendid." He—"Really? But it was all French, wasn't it?" She—"Oh, no! Of course, some of the handsomest ones were undoubtedly Parisian, but there were many pretty gowns that were evidently made here."—Philadelphia Press.

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CAPITALISTS ORGANIZED.

They Know Their Common Interests.

Illinois Manufacturers' Association Affords One More Example of Far-reaching Union Action Against the Labor Movement.

From time to time we have given accounts of the formation and activity of the great capitalist organizations, such as the National Manufacturers' Association, National Metal Trades Association, National Economic League, Citizens Industrial Alliance of America, which are organized to spy upon and disrupt the labor movement, control legislation, resist the demands of trades unions, and check the spread of Socialism; we have also obtained possession of and published various confidential correspondence of these organizations, exposing their methods and purposes.

To this illuminating series of secret communications, the "Chicago Socialist" adds the following two letters of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, additional proofs of the alert and far-reaching organization of the capitalists:

"ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.
"Bull 528 Marquette Bldg.
"Chicago, Nov. 23, 1903.
"Important and Confidential."

"The issue involved in the present controversy between the Chicago City Railway Company and its union employees is one in which every employer of labor in the state is interested, as it embraces the fundamental principle that there shall be no interference with the freedom of labor or of contract. The Chicago City Railway Company should have your moral support in this fight, and also Mayor Harrison, who has shown a spirit of impartial fairness in his management of the police department. You are requested to write the Chicago City Railway Company and urge it to persist in its stand for the principle that non-union has equal rights with union labor; you are requested to also express to Mayor

[illegible]

The Worker.

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AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. XIII.—NO. 37.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 13, 1903.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

FOR THE DAILY.

Progress of the Work of Raising Funds.

The importance of having a Socialist Daily Newspaper before the Presidential Campaign—Activity of the Daily Globe Conference.

The work of raising the balance of the Daily Globe Fund is being taken hold of in earnest and before the end of this month it is hoped to have enlisted in this work every Socialist in Greater New York. The comrades in Brooklyn are especially active and have already made a good start.

Every cent that has been pledged must be collected this winter without fail, and comrades are urged to lend a helping hand and see that it is done. O. Wegener, 11 Cooper Square, New York, is taking charge of the pledges in Manhattan, Bronx, and outside points, while Comrade Butcher will look after the pledges in Brooklyn, in addition to his many other duties for the party. Comrades in the respective boroughs are requested to give them generous support in the work they have attempted. Socialists and sympathizers out of the Greater City who have made pledges are requested to begin at once to make payments on account, forwarding the money to Comrade Wegener.

Socialists who have as yet not pledged or contributed to the Daily Globe Fund should know that it is the intention of their comrades in New York to publish the Daily Globe during the Presidential campaign. If the balance of the money necessary can be raised in time, the great assistance a daily paper would be in spreading the ideas of Socialism among the working class must be obvious. A new impetus and interest would be immediately centered in the movement with the publication of our Socialist daily. If you believe these statements true, if you want to see the movement grow, if you want to reach the people and make them familiar with Socialist principles, help us to establish next year the first Socialist daily newspaper. Send in your contributions at once, no matter how small—but the larger the better—to help swell the fund, help push forward and strengthen the Socialist movement of America.

Below is a statement of pledges made since the last report and of amounts collected.

NEW PLEDGES.

M. M. Lint	\$10.00
Anthony Lombardy	2.00
Paul Werner	2.00
John Maude	.50
Chas. Hoek	1.00
Br. W. S. & D. B. F.	75.00
Br. A. W. S. & D. B. F.	100.00
Max Kaplan, Brooklyn	3.00
Wm. Goldman, Brooklyn	3.00
Ram Rutnanski, Brooklyn	3.00
A. Ninkovsk, Brooklyn	5.00
A. Kronenberg (additional pledge)	5.00
Previously reported	7,674.50

Total amount pledged, \$7,884.00

CASH ON PLEDGES.

A. M. Kaplan, City	\$1.00
F. Kraft, Jersey City	5.00
H. Holman, City	.70
M. Woyce, Paterson, N. J.	1.75
Joe Hudka, Passaic, N. J.	2.00
W. Zubere, Passaic, N. J.	.25
Edlin, Passaic, N. J.	.25
Dr. Hnosovitz, City	3.00
Alex. Fraser, Brooklyn	10.00
J. P. Hofstad, Brooklyn	.50
M. M. Lint, City	1.00
Happel, Brooklyn	.25
Happel, Brooklyn	.50
Happel, Brooklyn	.50
A. Kronenberg, Jersey City	10.00
Previously acknowledged	3,254.25

Total cash on pledges, \$3,290.95

CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.

Harry Greenwood, Philadelphia	\$0.50
Robert E. Nicholson, Philadelphia	1.00
Chas. Schmidt, Northport, L. I.	.50
Joe Ables, New York, L. I.	.50
Kingston, N. Y.	.25
E. Windisch, Pittsburg, Pa.	.50
Max Sand	.50
Jon. Kauf	10.00
Punch (cards 449-490)	3.12
K. Edelman	1.10
G. Galbert	.50
Punch Card 116, Passaic, N. J.	2.00
J. B. Rosenfeld, Cleveland, Ohio	.25
Eight chain letters	.80
W. A. Squires, Vancouver, B. C.	1.00
Arbeiter Maegderbund, Utica, N. Y.	7.00
Br. W. S. & D. B. F., Utica, N. Y.	3.00
F. Feudtich, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Proceeds of Brooklyn Conference	5.40
R. Smith, Middletown, N. Y.	5.00
Brewers' Union No. 60, Brooklyn, N. Y.	100.00
Br. W. S. & D. B. F., Brooklyn	78.25
1234 A. D., Brooklyn	2.25
Potters' Union No. 211, Brooklyn	25.00
Operative Potters' Union, New Castle	1.00
Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Harrison, N. J.	6.00
Brotherhood of Carpenters, Ogdenburg, N. Y.	1.00
Union 1447, Perry, N. Y.	1.00
Jon. Gifford, Jersey City	5.00

WHAT THEY VOTED FOR.

Wage-Cuts and Shutdowns in Many Trades.

Workingmen Are Getting the Natural Results of the System Most of Them Voted to Support Cotton and Silk Workers, Coal Miners and Others Suffer.

FALL RIVER, Mass., Dec. 5.—Cotton manufacturers here have received circulars from manufacturers in North Carolina, inviting them to attend a meeting to be held in Charlotte, N. C., next Tuesday, for the purpose of considering some plan for a united effort to meet the cotton crop conditions.

Two of the local mill owners have gone to North Carolina in an unofficial capacity. It is said here that if they report any "strikes" in the movement in the South it is possible that an effort will be made to bring about favorable action on a tariff proposition.

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FALL RIVER, Mass., Dec. 5.—Cotton manufacturers here have received circulars from manufacturers in North Carolina, inviting them to attend a meeting to be held in Charlotte, N. C., next Tuesday, for the purpose of considering some plan for a united effort to meet the cotton crop conditions.

Two of the local mill owners have gone to North Carolina in an unofficial capacity. It is said here that if they report any "strikes" in the movement in the South it is possible that an effort will be made to bring about favorable action on a tariff proposition.

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SUIT AGAINST LABOR UNIONS.

Mitchell's Union Sued for \$85,000 Damages.

Capitalists, Encouraged by Labor's Political Conservatism, Grow More and More Aggressive in Their Use of the Courts Against Labor Organizations.

DENVER, Colo., Dec. 4.—The Victor Fuel Company of Trinidad, Colo., has brought a damage suit for \$85,000 against John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers, and other union men in connection with the strike.

President Mitchell was also served with a summons to court in the suit of the Victor Fuel Company for an injunction to restrain the United Mine Workers' officials from "interfering in any manner with the operation of the company's mines."

CHICAGO, Dec. 4.—Judge Jesse Holden in the Circuit Court decided today that Franklin Union of Press Feeders was in contempt of court as an organization for appointing and permitting pickets to interfere with the rights of individuals who had taken the places of striking press feeders.

This is said to be the first time in this country that a trade union has been found guilty of illegal acts as a corporate body.

ST. LOUIS, Dec. 3.—Judge Thayer, acting as special judge of the United States Circuit Court, granted an injunction today restraining seventy-five members of the St. Louis Typographers' Union No. 3, and other former employees of the St. Louis branch of the American Type Foundry Company, from "interfering with the business of the present employees of the company."

Attorneys representing the American Type Foundry Company went before Judge Thayer in Chambers, today, and represented that the company had been suffering from a strike declared in six cities.

Since the strike in St. Louis, it was stated, the striking employees, most of whom are members of Union No. 3, have been picketing the foundry here and persuading employees to quit.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 3.—The Palmer Window Glass Company, a New Jersey corporation, which owns and operates a sixty-pot window glass factory at Shingle House, Potter, this state, has entered suit in the United States Circuit Court for an order to restrain President John Phillips, Jr., and the Window Glass Workers' Association of America from withdrawing the scale which it presented to the firm, and from threatening to expel or expelling members of the association working in the factory of the plaintiff.

UNITED WAR ON UNIONS.

Employers' Organization Denounces Even the Label.

Citizens' Industrial Association Meets at Dayton and Calls on All Capitalists to Join in Systematic Attack on Organized Labor.

DAYTON, Ohio, Dec. 4.—Before adjournment today the Executive Committee of the recently organized Citizens' Industrial Association of America resolved against the "ARMED MEN PLACING THE UNION LABEL" on articles of their own manufacture.

The committee expressed its opposition to the Eight-Hour Bill now pending in Congress, and provided for the formation of a "Labor Information Bureau" for the use of members.

The following platform was adopted as an open letter to the public and affiliated associations:

"The present industrial conditions have become so deplorable by reason of the indefensible methods and claims of organized labor that the time has come when the employing interests and good citizenship of the country must take immediate and effective measures to reestablish and enforce the fundamental principles of American government guaranteeing free, competitive conditions.

"In its demand for the closed shop, organized labor is seeking to overthrow individual liberty and property rights, the principal props of our government. Its methods for securing this revolutionary and socialist change in our institutions are also those of physical warfare.

"Because of this warfare the industrial interests of the nation during the last year have been injured to an irreparable degree. Many firms have been driven into bankruptcy and the cases are innumerable in which workers have been dismissed and even murdered, while numerous families have been rendered destitute by reason of the tyranny and malicious attacks upon society by the strike organizations.

"A condition of anarchy has existed continuously in some states for months past, and, in fact, the acts of lawlessness committed under the sacred name of labor are of such frequent occurrence that the public sense of their enormity has become dulled. The period of great prosperity brought about by the unrestricted operation of the law of supply and demand is also being destroyed by the acts of violence of organized labor, and as a result we are now confronted with the possibility of a period of depression.

"While we most emphatically object to being classed as enemies of organizations of labor that are conducted upon lawful and beneficial lines, yet we are unanimously opposed to the present program of violence, boycotting, and tyranny now being carried out by the majority of labor unions.

MARTIAL LAW IN COLORADO.

Military Officers Establish a Strict Censorship of the Press.

General Bell Threatens Death Penalty for Even "Unarmed Resistance" to His Will—Wholesale Arrests without Charges or Chance of Trial—Roosevelt Ready to Send Regulars.

The extent to which the state authorities of Colorado have gone in helping the Standard Oil interests and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company to break the strikes of the gold and coal miners, organized in the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers, respectively, is outside even the records of Homestead, Pullman, and the Cour d'Alene.

The proposition to treat even UNARMED "resistance" to the commands of a military despot as treason, punishable by death, is something new in American history. In the most critical moments of the Civil War no such construction of the law of treason was ever resorted to.

Equally outrageous is the setting up of a military censorship of the local press and even of the dispatches to be sent to outside papers. After cutting off the appeal to elected judges and civil officers, the military tools of capitalism propose to cut off also the appeal to public opinion.

In his warlike wordy message to Congress, President Roosevelt says not a word about these unparalleled conditions, nor about the arrogant conduct of the same group of capitalists in Montana, who locked out a quarter of the working population of the state in order to force the Legislature to do their will.

The news from Colorado which we give below is taken from Associated Press and other dispatches to the capitalist press. It is safe to say that the facts are even worse than here pictured.

DENVER, Colo., Dec. 4.—Governor Peabody at noon today issued a proclamation declaring Cripple Creek under martial law and suspending the writ of habeas corpus.

He declares that the gold camp is in a state of insurrection and rebellion, and that the civil authorities are powerless.

Wholesale arrests of strikers suspected of implication in the Vindicator explosion and other cases of violence will be made to-morrow. The Bull Pen will be enlarged so as to accommodate several hundred prisoners.

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CLEAR WEATHER AGAIN.

By Horace Traubel.

Clear weather again. The crisis was met. Man proved equal to it. The race has come out of it unscathed. Yes, glorified. The race has shown itself equal to justice. Many of us saw only failure and death. Saw only the storm. Did not see beyond the storm. But the prophets were always there. Their faithful voices could always be heard above the cry of the wind and the crash of destruction. We knew that if the race could survive this storm it could survive anything. For this was not a zephyr blow. It was a storm of the first magnitude. It was a test of the very root-stock of social integration. It meant that you could hope for anything. It also meant that you might fear for everything. For it came after many questions as a final question. It came after questions had been asked and answered. It came as the question that had to be answered right. The storm of yesterday. The storm through which we have come to this beautiful morning.

Clear weather again. Now I know how much the storm had to do with the storm. How much the evil had to do with the good. How much the millionaire had to do with the communist. How much of my phantasmal self I abandoned with the storm yesterday. How much of my real self I have brought over. Now I see what the storm was for. Why I had to be misdeceived. Why I had to be misdeceived. Why my friends were deceived. Why my enemies were deceived. Why the universe seemed against me. Why as long as I was for myself the universe could not have been against me. Why the work always had to be everything and why the pay always had to be nothing. Why the people did not hear me. Why it was enough for me to hear myself. Why religion was against the storm. And why the state was against the storm. And why the great and the powerful were everywhere against the storm. And doctors who decorated the body. And doctors who decorated the soul. And banks with vast treasures. Why all these were against the storm. And why only the weak were for the storm. The people without money. The people without power. The people without office. The people in the courts. The people. The children of perpetual hunger. Not enough food. Not enough clothing. Not enough housing. Why only the weak were for the storm. Why the powerful and the great were against the storm and could not prevent the storm. Why the weak and the obscure were for the storm and brought the storm.

Clear weather again. Now I know what clear weather means. And that is why I know what the storm meant. What the days before the storm meant. What the days after the storm meant. What the days in between meant. Why the greedy were the first to suffer from greed. Why I sometimes wondered if love had gone back on love. That is, that the universe had gone back on itself. For the storm was right into the soul. And the soul got to asking questions. And the questions of the soul were not always cheerful. But the right to ask the questions was not of the storm. And the questions were more and thicker, and that was what made the air so close. And that was why the storm came on. And that was why the storm was followed the storm. This morning of justice. All of which I did not know at the time. But all of which is now clear to me. Clear to me, and joyful and satisfying to me, in the miracle and law of a perfect result.

Clear weather again. Well, we have had several narrow escapes in getting here. But we have arrived. And we are safe. Dead or alive we are safe. We have got here with everything and nothing. But we are safe. We are in good health. All the property has been brought along. But all the owners are lost. The debris has been left behind. The masters have all been left behind. But all the men are here. Every man reports. We call the roll. Nothing we need is missing. Not a thing. We are not one bit short. Most of the things we were proud of are left behind. They could not weather the storm. But all the other things proved themselves capable of the ordeal. And here we are, secured but unharmed. Healed with the scars of love. With the scars of faith. Yet untouched.

Clear weather again. Think of it. You who still doubt always said we could not produce the storm. When the storm came you said we could not live through the storm. Now that we have lived through the storm you say that we have lived for nothing. That we were worth living for. Look about. See what you may see. Ask yourself your questions over again. Is not this that you see worth living for? You say you do not want to live in a world of angels. Neither do I. I always feel uncomfortable in the presence of angels. But this is a world of angels. This is a world of men. It is a world of men who are still frail. Who are still victims of passion. But it is a world in which frailty has a better chance to be taken care of and to take care of itself. It is a world in which passion has a better chance to make peace with law. It is a world in which everything has a better chance to live out its own righteousness and live down its own villainy. It is a world in which temptation is strong enough to strengthen but never strong enough to tempt. Do you think this an impossible world? Look again. You see the big things of the old world the small things of the new.

You see property very small. You see man very big. You see that the owner gets big as ownership gets small. You see that now property is for the first time sacred. You used to think that the only thing that made property sacred was ownership. Now you see that private property was always profane. Now you see the property of all that used to be the property of one becomes the property of one by being the property of all. Is this an impossible world? Is justice impossible? In the old days you had to hold on to everything with both hands. But for that nothing was safe. You were always a drowning man. Now you may see that you need to hold on to nothing. Everything is safe. You must hold on to yourself. That is all. Is this an impossible world? Did you think that man could always live on the blue of peril? Did you think that man was to be tied to a life preserver? That he was always to live on in fear? That he was to be knowing but that a social cynicism would before morning destroy him? Malevolent social forces laying for him in the dark? His sleep disturbed by dreams of ruin? His wake disturbed by facts of ruin? Was man to perpetuate this dynasty of hell? Look about you once more. See what you may see. Ask yourself whether this world does not offer you a superior stage.

Clear weather again. Clear weather has brought a new kind of a man. Or the old kind of a man living on a new kind of life. I do not know just what it is. Nor how it is. But I know it is. Every man now sails his own ship. No alien is now at his rudder. Every man lives his own life. He lives no alien life. Now that the storm has cleared away we find that everybody has plenty of room. We find that every man knows there is enough room for all. That no man will now take more room than he needs. All that he needs. But not more. We find that the best way to induce men to live together is to give them a chance to live apart. In "no new world of enough room for the human spirit is learning how to live. We have got property rights out of the way. We have kept the property but abolished the rights. The storm unsettled wrong in order to settle right. It came out of dark days. It provoked all nature to inevitable fury. The elements raged. The rule seemed complete. With the rule came the rule of escape. But the prophets still prophesied. And when the destined world was done the sun came out again. We find in the revelation of this morning that no mistake was made. Everything of real value has remained. Nothing has been lost that we cannot afford to lose. What we have gained is the one treasure to which all other treasures must converge or be worthless. We have gained the chance to live. We have gained the chance to live. And property betrayed us all to despair. Now we have seen that the man of millions has no chance to live was poor. That the man without a cent with a chance to live is rich. And now that the storm has cleared we see that the social order never had but one task. The task to give people a chance to live. That when it was treacherous to that task it was traitorous to the whole of life. That social order was not order but chaos. And that was why the air grew close upon chaos. And why the storm came after the storm too close for breathing. And why now that the weather is clear again we see that order has been substituted for chaos. That order which exists in the universal chance to live.

SOCIALISM IN SERBIA.

Comrade Milanovitch, Secretary of the Socialist Party of Serbia, reports to the International Bureau on the recent parliamentary elections in that country, the first in which our party has achieved success at the polls.

During the latter years especially of the reign of the late King Alexander the most brutal tyranny prevailed, all who did not bow obsequiously to the criminal gang in power were ruthlessly persecuted, and the Socialists were singled out for particularly malevolent treatment. Whatever order there was in the means by which the royal autocracy was removed last June, the fact remains that a much graver degree of popular liberty has been enjoyed since then.

On Aug. 2 was held the first national congress of the Socialist Party and measures were taken to participate actively in the September elections. The results were highly encouraging, more than fulfilling all expectations. At Kragujevac, our candidate, Dr. Mikelc, one of the best Socialist scholars and propagandists, was elected by a large majority. In Leskovac, our candidate, Vladimir Savits, received an even vote, and a second ballot was necessary; and in the next election the candidate of the united capitalist parties won by a majority of only 60 votes. In Belgrade the contest was especially severe. Comrade Rado: ovitch claims that it was only by falsifying the list of voters that the capitalists were able to carry the day. Even so, the Socialist candidates were defeated by very small majorities.

Comrade Popovitch writes in the "Vreme" that the party organization is making great progress, both among the industrial workers in the cities and towns and among the rural laborers, and that it is recognized by the propertied and ruling class as a formidable adversary, whose power is sure to grow from day to day.

The results accomplished in the election are the more remarkable in view of the fact that the property qualification for voting excludes a large part of the working class.

It is preposterous for the Moros of Jelto to want to set up a government of their own, as they have no can't sell.—The Chicago News.

The new republic of Panama does not amount to much, as it has been in existence several days without starting a graft investigation.—The Denver Republican.

SOCIALISTS IN REICHSTAG.

Not One Attends the Court Reception.

Carry Out Instructions of Party Congress in Claiming the First Vice-Presidency—Effect of Increased Socialist Vote on Imperial Policy.

The Reichstag or Parliament of the German Empire was formally opened in the White Hall of the Emperor's palace on Thursday, Dec. 2. The press dispatches say:

"The assemblage was smaller than on the last occasion, twenty-five of the Socialists, not one of whom ever attends the opening of the Reichstag, which is essentially a court function, all the members present wearing a royal order. . . . After luncheon the members reassembled in the Reichstag for the preliminaries of organization. All the Socialists were then present."

The Social Democratic members nominated Paul Singer for First Vice-President and also nominated candidates for some of the secretarial positions in the election, which took place on the following day, they received, of course, only Socialist votes.

The Vice-Presidency Discussion. As the daily papers in this country have given very confusing accounts and made quite misleading comments upon this incident, treating the nomination of Singer as an unexpected development and a violation of the resolution adopted by the party convention in Dresden, it is necessary to give a correct statement.

By custom, the Social Democratic Party, being the second strongest party in the Reichstag and the strongest in its popular vote, would be considered as entitled to the first vice-presidency and one of the secretarial posts. But, on the other hand, it is equally well established by custom that the members of the "bureau"—the officers of the Reichstag—must be presented at court, and the Social Democrats have always refused to do so.

During the past summer, especially after the parliamentary elections in June, certain elements in the party—the so-called "Revisionists," who dissent from the rigidly revolutionary ideas which prevail in the party—advocated the acceptance of these offices, held in the name of the party, as a means of increasing the party's strength. A candidate, elected in the old party, they said, would gladly yield this recognition to the increased Social Democratic delegation and would vote for whatever man the Socialists might nominate. This was certainly true. The capitalist press loudly applauded this evidence of "reasonableness" on the part of Bernstein and the other Revisionists, and Singer was suggested as the right man for the place—Singer, by the way, being a strict adherent of revolutionary ideas.

This question, after being extensively discussed in the party press and local organizations, occupied a good part of the time of the party congress held at Dresden in September. In the debate upon it, the whole question of the proposals and the conduct of the Revisionists was thrashed out. The debate was often acrimonious and the capitalist press on both sides of the water predicted a split in the party. How little likelihood there was of a split, and how little support there was for the compromising tendencies outside of a small group of "Intellectuals" who did much more than their share of talking and writing, and so compelled party attention, was demonstrated by the vote cast on the two resolutions which determined the controversy. One of these resolutions was proposed by the party's Executive and was virtually a censure on the Revisionists for their methods, especially in using the capitalist press for attacks on the party's declared principles and policy and on many of its chosen leaders. This was carried by a vote of 283 to 24. The text of this resolution was printed in The Worker of Oct. 18.

Rebel-Kautsky-Singer. Resolutions Carried. The second resolution was moved by Rebel, Kautsky, and Singer and was in the following terms:

"The Congress instructs the Social Democratic delegation in the Reichstag to assert their right to have the first vice-presidency and one of the secretarial posts filled by candidates from their ranks, but to refuse to undertake attendance at any court ceremonies or to submit to any conditions not prescribed in the constitution of the Empire."

"The Congress rejects in the most emphatic manner the revisionist efforts to change our tried and victory-crowned tactics, based upon the class struggle, by substituting for the conquest of political power through the overthrow of our opponents, a policy of conciliation with the existing order of things."

"The result of such revisionist tactics would be that a party which works for the most rapid possible transformation of the existing bourgeois society into a Socialist society, and which is in the best sense of the word revolutionary, would be changed into a party occupying itself with the reformation of bourgeois society. The Congress is therefore opposed to the revisionist movement now existing in the party, and is of the conviction that class antagonisms do not decrease, but rather grow sharper and clearer. It accordingly declares:

"1. That the party declines to accept responsibility for the political and economic conditions resulting from the capitalist mode of production, and accordingly it refuses all endorsement of means that tend to maintain the ruling class in power."

"2. That the party, according to the Kautsky resolution adopted by the International Congress at Paris in 1900, cannot seek to participate in a bourgeois government."

"The Congress furthermore condemns every effort to conceal or deny the existence of ever increasing class antagonisms and thereby to make way for a reconciliation with the capitalist parties."

"The Congress expects that the Social Democratic delegation in the Reichstag will use its increased influence gained through the efforts of the voting masses, for the enlightenment of the workers as to the aims of the Social Democracy, to defend with all their power the interests of the working class and to strive for the extension and assurance of political liberty and equal rights for all and energetically to oppose militarism and the colonial and expansionist policy and injustice, oppression, and exploitation in every form and to act energetically in favor of the enactment of laws to protect the workers and bring about their political and social emancipation."

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This declaration was carried by a vote of 282 to 11—those voting in the negative being Bernstein, Gertrud David, Elm, Green, Grünberg, Herling, Hüt, Loewe, Paul Müller, Gustav Müller of Breslau, and Karl Schwarz.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Socialist fraction in the Reichstag, in nominating Singer after abstaining themselves from the opening ceremonies, were simply carrying out the instructions of the party in accordance with its accepted policy of irreconcilable hostility both to monarchy and to all political expressions of capitalist interests.

The aim of the City Treasurer, Comrade Tobin, comes up in a few days, and it is a foregone conclusion that we will win.

FIGURES THAT SPEAK.

(An editorial by A. Lesin in the Jewish daily "Forward," translated for the Worker by I. E. Rabinovitch.)

During the six months, from the first to the thirtieth of September, the Manhattan elevated trains alone have carried, in round numbers, about one hundred and twenty-six millions of passengers. During the same months of last year the number of passengers was only one hundred and eleven millions. That is, the number of passengers has increased by eighteen millions. This amounts to about 100,000 more passengers every day.

One hundred thousand passengers more means one hundred thousand tickets more for the company every day. The number of cars and trips, however, has remained about the same. The overcrowding on the elevated roads was already well known and it is easy to imagine how it is now, and how it will yet be later on, in the winter months, when the overfilled trains become still more crowded.

A year ago the company did not run its business for mere charity; it was then making a profit of millions. This year it intends to make more millions and to make them at the expense of the stifling public. That is the company's good luck, they say, to "earn" the hundred thousand daily added tickets. And as long as there is yet room for a pin left, the passenger is invited to pay a nickel and push himself in.

FROM MONTANA.

Copper Trust Establishes Reign of Terror.

Socialists Systematically Blacklisted—Outrageous Conduct of the Trusts is Making More Socialists, However.

BITTE, Mont., Nov. 22.—The Socialist Police Magistrate elected in Anaconda last spring took his office last Wednesday, after being fraudulently kept out of it for over six months. At the time approached for the trial of the case, the Republican incumbent resigned, and Comrade McHugh assumed the duties without any opposition. He will, however, not receive his salary for the months that Hayes held the office.

A veritable reign of terror exists in Anaconda. Deliberately, secretly, insidiously, Annuated Copper Company is warring the Socialists out of the works, and has been doing so ever since the shutdown ceased. Each man has a brass identification check, which he carries while at work. At the end of the day he hands it up on the book which bears his number. Some fine morning, instead of his brass check, he finds a blank on the book—a plain blue card. This means not only that he is "black," but that he is unable to get work in any town in Montana where the Annuated Copper Company is the employer.

A few instances will show to what extent the Copper Trust will go in its efforts to stamp out Socialism. A school girl in Anaconda heard a Socialist speaker on the street, became interested, bought some literature, and proceeded to talk Socialism to her school friends. Her father was "blue-carded." He protested that he was and always had been a Democrat, which was true. An interview followed between the father and one of the Moguls at the works, and the unfortunate wage-slave was informed that his daughter was "talking Socialism around the school, and he would have to make her stop it if he wanted to resume work for the company." He promised that it would stop, but when he approached his daughter on the subject she was met by a flat refusal. She told her father that neither the company nor a dozen jobs would make her stop it.

The result was the result was the use of a two-inch strap until the plucky little heroine was reduced to submission.

Quite a few Democrats and Republicans have been discharged, too, in their effort to make a clean sweep of the Socialists. There is no attempt at evasion. The shift bosses and foremen are told as frankly, "You are a Socialist," or, "Well, Bill, we got you this time; you were at the street meeting and were seen clapping your hands." "No, I am not, and never have been a Socialist." "Well, go and get a signed statement from some prominent Republicans and Democrats and you can get back." Quite a few have gone back to work under these conditions, and (tell it not in Gath), even a few Socialists who have Republican and Democratic friends. There are spotters everywhere—in the saloons, in the boarding houses, on the streets, and in the stores. The recent, bitter, vindictive, but silent, among all the people, business men and workers, Republicans and Democrats alike, is something awful. No one dares to express it in words. The wails have come out at the next election. We know there are hundreds of formerly Democratic and Republican workers who will register their opinion of this attempt to establish Mexican peonage when the proper time comes. The company is making Socialists.

The administration of Mayor Fricks has been the only administration the city of Anaconda has ever had that was free from "grafting." Even the Republican and Democratic papers admit this. The School Board, which was elected as a "trade-union ticket," and whose first act was to elect a Socialist Party member as Superintendent of Schools and another party member as principal of the high school and Socialists as school clerk and janitors, is making a splendid record. The schools of Anaconda have a larger attendance and are in a more efficient condition than ever before. A strong Teachers' Union, affiliated with the American Labor Union, is one of the results of this change in the personnel of the School Board.

The aim of the City Treasurer, Comrade Tobin, comes up in a few days, and it is a foregone conclusion that we will win.

FIGURES THAT SPEAK.

These dollars make a mountain of gold, upon which many Americans look with exultation. But a cemetery full of dead lies buried under this gold mountain. And were these dead to rise they would form a dreadful army. Long, long rows of skeletons would array themselves and shake their bony fists before the joy-sparking eyes of their unpunished murderers.

But the dead will not rise. They will never disturb the rest, never dispel the joy and happiness of these rings of death, in human shape—able to make millions of profit each year. Silent are the murdered in their graves. Quiet and dumb rests the conscience of the Goulds and the Belmonts and the Baldwins, whose souls are tightly wrapped up in trust papers and bonds. Dumb and silent remains also Public Opinion—absolutely powerless against these almighty few.

This is the horrible result of the horrible development of capitalism, which becomes ever more and more horrible.

The recent past had brought out on the arena the millionaire and the cities of millions of inhabitants. The near future will call out on the scene the billionaire, with clues of tens of millions of inhabitants. And cheaper and more and more crowded and choking and suffocating will become the factories wherein the people work, the houses wherein they live, and the public roads upon which they travel. And more and more choking and stifling and oppressing will become all and everything in this world.

FIGURES THAT SPEAK.

The "Billionaire is coming," the Billionaire is coming," is heard on all sides the clamor of the capitalist world. But it is the Billionaire who will see the destruction of the capitalist world, of this narrow, choking, and suffocating world; it is the Billionaire who will force the masses to open their eyes and to see the light of Truth and Justice as expressed in Socialism.

PARTY NEWS.

(Continued from 3d page.)

speakers arranged by the Waterbury comrades.

Pennsylvania.

At the regular meeting of the State Committee on Dec. 7, Comrade Kahl in the chair, a charter was granted to a local in Clarion, Washington County. Request was received from C. F. Thayer of Atlantic, Crawford County, for information how to organize a local.

The comrades in Westmoreland County will place a local ticket in the field this spring.

The Luzerne County Committee has appealed from the decision of the State Committee in the Coughlin case, and the appeal will be sent out shortly.

The following resolution was received from Local Wilkesbarre: "Whereas, The name of D. O. Coughlin appeared on the ballot in the late election as the candidate of the Prohibition and the Citizens' parties, as well as the Socialist Party, he having been endorsed by the two foregoing parties without the consent of, or after consultation with, any member of the Socialist Party; and

"Whereas, The Luzerne County Committee ignored this opposition of affairs, claiming it not to be its duty to have D. O. Coughlin return insult to those who thought they did him honor, notwithstanding that the State Committee called upon it to take steps against the said D. O. Coughlin, notwithstanding he did publish a declaration that he was the candidate of the Socialist Party only; and

"Whereas, The Luzerne County Committee still persists that it had no right to condemn D. O. Coughlin, as no rule or regulation of the Socialist Party had or has been violated; and

"Whereas, The State Committee has requested Local Wilkesbarre to take action against the members of the County Committee, with a view to expulsion, because of disobedience to its demands; and

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the State Secretary."

The State Committee revoked the charter of Local Wilkesbarre for insubordination in refusing to try the members of the County Committee.

The Nineteenth Ward Branch of Local Philadelphia will give a series of lectures in Fairhill Hall, Fifth street, above Dupeira, during the winter months. Luther S. Kaufman will deliver the first lecture on Sunday, Dec. 13, at 2:30 p. m.

Candidates for Select Council and School Director have been nominated by the Nineteenth Ward Branch and nominees for division officers were announced.

The Twenty-fourth and Thirty-fourth Ward Branch has started a Question Club, which meets after their business meetings every Saturday evening, at 4200 Lancaster avenue.

James F. Carey, formerly Representative in the Massachusetts Legislature, will speak in Philadelphia on Jan. 2.

All locals should have their vote for National Committeeman in the State Secretary's hands by Dec. 14.

Contributions to help pay off the state debt were as follows: Nineteenth Ward Branch, Philadelphia, \$1; Thirty-third Ward Branch, \$1.

Florida.

The disorder in the State Secretary's office continues. National Com-

mitteeman W. R. Healey, with the approval of the National Secretary, is endeavoring to straighten affairs out.

Mrs. W. R. Healey is State Secretary pro tem. Charles H. Matchett, of New York, has been instructed by National Secretary Mally to investigate and report upon the situation so far as it affects the relations between the late State Secretary, A. D. Hill, and the national organization. The trouble came at an unfortunate time, just as everything was in hand for a thorough canvass of the state, and with a prospective large increase in the membership of the party. But the development of the state is merely checked for a time.

Speeches and harangues have been very effective in the "discovery" (to themselves) of the Socialists in this state, until the cold weather checked these at fresco festivities. Farmers have been known to drive twenty miles or more to hear a Socialist speech. Orlando Local has been particularly active in this sort of propaganda, but several others have done much good service in this direction.

The Woman's Auxiliary of Jacksonville has disbanded and the members have joined the local there en masse. The result will be a body stronger for effective work than the two were, when meeting separately. The local meets every Sunday afternoon.

There are no locals as yet in Western or Middle Florida, the organization being confined now only to the peninsula. There are five negro locals in the state. Race prejudice is not so intense in this state as in those just north of it. If all Florida has thirty locals, but it is difficult to state how many dues-paying members there are, in the present condition of affairs.

The second number of the "Florida Socialist"—the first of the regular issue—will be published about the first of January. It will be a four-page, six-column paper, devoted mainly to state news such as Socialists cannot find in other papers. A preliminary number was issued Nov. 4, to get the prospectus, by-laws, etc. of the co-operative company which will publish it before the stockholders and other members of the party. Great interest in the publication is being shown throughout the party in the state.

For a year past the Jacksonville "Metropolis," an evening paper, has admitted a Socialist department to its Saturday edition, carrying the state and general news of the party and editorial remarks to aid the propaganda.

Iowa.

The State Committee has engaged Frederick G. Strickland for the 1904 campaign. He will begin the work on April 15.

Muscatine has nominated John H. Work for National Committeeman.

No wage-workers were elected to the Iowa Legislature. Lawyers and bankers and other parasites have been delegated to look after the interests of the wage-working class.

Local Clinton is booming; admitted four new members during November and realized \$13.50 on an entertainment.

J. E. McCallis, our late candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, has been elected temporary organizer for the Iowa movement. He is particularly effective among the farmers. Comrades in each county should write for terms and then arrange for a school-house campaign.

The monthly report blanks furnished local secretaries are not coming in as well as they should. This feature of the work should not be neglected.

The tenth biennial report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics contains an interesting set of tables, the purport of which is to invite foreign capital to locate in Iowa. In these tables it is shown what easy marks the laboring people are. In some industries Iowa labor receives as high as four per cent. of the product manufactured.

The question might be asked if this corresponds to labor's "fair share" as frequently alluded to by the Hon. A. B. Cummins.

All Iowa Socialists should get ready now for the municipal campaign. A Socialist ticket should be put up in every city where election is to be held.

The vote on the national referendum submitted to the Iowa locals should be forwarded to the State Secretary and all returns be in by Jan. 1, 1904. Returns from Missouri Valley and Lost Creek have been received.

Unorganized Socialists in Iowa desiring speakers or information of any kind regarding the movement should correspond with the State Secretary, J. J. Jacobson, 1122 Twelfth street, Des Moines.

Nebraska.

A new local has been chartered at Chadron.

State Organizer Schiermeyer, having completed a most successful tour of the state, is taking a much-needed rest in preparation for his second tour, which will include an entirely different portion of the state.

The Cooks and Waiters' Union of Lincoln has invited Comrade Schiermeyer to deliver an address before that organization.

Local Plattsmouth reports that the lecture given there by Comrade Minors on Nov. 21 was an intellectual treat. The same and more can be said of his two lectures under the auspices of Local Omaha. His afternoon address on "Fundamentals of Socialism" showed a grasp of the subject that even pleased the most critical; and at night, Comrade Minors handled the former question to the entire satisfaction of our best Marxist students, which proves that Local Omaha is in perfect accord with the party on this question. A member of the local said: "Whenever the National Secretary turns around to have Comrade Minors lecture every night for a week at Omaha, we are ready for him, and feel sure that his sound reasoning will clear up every befuddled brain that is strong enough to listen to him."

Secretary L. B. Duke of North Platte reports an eloquent address by the former question to the entire satisfaction of our best Marxist students, which proves that Local Omaha is in perfect accord with the party on this question. A member of the local said: "Whenever the National Secretary turns around to have Comrade Minors lecture every night for a week at Omaha, we are ready for him, and feel sure that his sound reasoning will clear up every befuddled brain that is strong enough to listen to him."

The Woman's Socialist Union of Omaha has advised its members to buy from only those retail clerks that have paid-up union cards and to walk out of the store where no union clerk can be found.

Here and There.

Local St. Thomas, Ontario, of the Canadian Socialist League, has over two hundred members, maintains a public reading room, and is now raising a fund to engage a public organizer. For that purpose the women of the League are arranging a calendar exhibition to be held the first week in January, and appeal to comrades everywhere to send them the pretty advertising calendars which business houses will gladly give when they know it is for exhibition purposes. Calendars should be sent to Mrs. H. M. Anderson, Box 948, St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada, in time to arrive not later than Jan. 1.

Wherever there is a public library, comrades should make it a point to ask for Morris Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," and, if it is not on the shelves, to urge that it be got. Many people are going to the libraries nowadays for books on Socialism and too often the books they get are very antiquated and misleading.

NOT SOCIALIST REPRESENTATIVES.

Montana State Committee Calls Public Attention to the Stranding of Five Labor Members of Legislature.

P. J. Conroy, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Montana, by order of the State Committee, has issued the following public statement:

"As the impression prevails that Representatives Baughry, Schwend, O'Keefe, Morrissey, and Ganger of Deer Lodge County are representatives of the Socialist Party, and as a special session of the Legislature is at hand, without making or intending any reflection on the above-named members of the Legislature, the public is hereby notified that Representatives Baughry, Schwend, O'Keefe, Morrissey, and Ganger were not elected on the Socialist Party ticket, are not now and never have been representatives of the Socialist Party, and that the Socialist Party is not responsible for any of their actions, attitudes, votes, or utterances as representatives in the Legislative Assembly of Montana."

The five members named were elected on an "independent ticket" ticket in the fall of 1902. Their platform was identical with that of the Socialist Party, but they were not members of the party and did not recognize its authority. How genuine was their profession of Socialist opinions remains to be seen.

Socialist and Social Democratic are virtually interchangeable terms. The Social Democratic Party of New York and Wisconsin is identical with the Socialist Party of other states. It is the party of the working class against all parties of capitalism. Its emblem in New York is the Arm and Torch.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

All Comrades and Organizations are hereby informed that an

Industrial Labor Exposition and Food Show

For the benefit of the Labor Press, "THE WORKER" and the "NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG," is being arranged, and will take place April 23 to May 8, 1904, at the GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets, New York.

Organizations are requested to consider arranging Festivals Accordingly.

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

FACSIMILE OF TICKET!

GRAND LABOR Industrial Exposition and Food Show

CONCERT • VAUDEVILLE • DANCING • and Other Entertainments For the Benefit of the Labor Press

ADMISSION 10 CTS.</

The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
(Known in New York State as the Social
Democratic Party.)
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The Worker, 104 William Street, New York.

As The Worker goes to press on Wednes-
day, correspondents sending news should
reach this office by Monday, whenever possible.
Complaints about the paper should be ad-
dressed to the Editor, The Worker, 104
William Street, New York.

Entered as second-class matter at the
New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 6,
1902.

In the State of New York, on account of
certain provisions of the election laws, the
Socialist Party is officially recognized under
the name of Social Democratic Party, and
its emblem is the Arm and Torch, as shown
above.

The Socialist Party for Social Democratic
Party in New York should not be confused
with the so-called Socialist Labor Party.
The latter is a small, isolated, and un-
representative organization which utterly op-
poses the trade unions and carries on a
policy of slander against the real Socialist
movement, which supports the trade unions.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist Party (the Social Democratic
Party of New York) has used through
several general elections. Its growing power
is indicated and its position is shown
in the following figures:

1902 (Presidential) 97,730
1902 (State and Congressional) 229,760

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wealth from the rough club which
the primitive savage uses to kill
game to a modern railway or steel
mill. They also introduce a dis-
tinction—a barren one, as will ap-
pear later—between "land," including
all the resources of nature, and "cap-
ital," which, according to their usage,
includes only artificial means of pro-
duction.

Of course, it is idle to quarrel over
definitions, for their own sake. But it
is necessary to have clear definitions
if we are to think and express our
thoughts clearly. The usage of the
word "capital," established by Marx
and his successors is so well adapted
for drawing clearly certain necessary
distinctions and is coming to be so gen-
erally recognized that it is well that
we adhere closely to it.

The principal question at issue in
the economic discussions in which
these terms are used is the distribution
of wealth, as the economists say—that
is its division among or appropriation
by the various persons concerned, help-
fully or otherwise, in its production.
So far as concerns this appropriation
of the product, it should be evident
that the question who owns and con-
trols the means of production used
(and how he controls it) is of more im-
portance than the question whether
that means of production is itself a
piece of land or a bed of coal or an
artificial product, such as a steam-
engine. It is with reference to owner-
ship and control that we make our
special definition of the term "capital."

The term "means of production" we
apply to any or all of the things which
men use in producing wealth—the club
of the primitive savage, the plow and
oxen of the old-fashioned farmer, the
steam-plow of the great Western
wheat farms of to-day, the land that
is plowed, the ore-bed, the tools and
machinery for getting the ore out, the
railway and engines and cars for
hauling it, and so on to the end of
the chain.

The means of production—the ma-
terial things necessary in any given
age and country to carry on industry
in the then prevalent manner—may be
owned and controlled in several differ-
ent ways, with a corresponding differ-
ence in the division of the product and
the economic relations of classes in so-
ciety. Roughly, we may distinguish
five forms of ownership:

First, the means of production may be
the individual property of the man
who uses them. Then, owning also his
own labor power, the worker individ-
ually owns the whole product, as a
matter of course. To a considerable
extent, this is the case in savage and
barbarous society. In modern times,
among civilized peoples, it has often
been the general rule in new and
sparsely settled countries, such as
America a century ago.

Second, the means of production
may be the collective or joint property
of the men who use them. Then, as
a matter of course, the workers col-
lectively own the product. In primi-
tive society this is the case to a very
great extent. We believe that it will
again be the rule in the society of the
future.

Third, the means of production and
the man who uses them may both be-
long absolutely to another man. Then,
again as a matter of course, the whole
product belongs absolutely to the
master; but out of it he must provide
the slave's living, else the slave dies
and produces no more for him. This
was the rule in the civilization of an-
tiquity, such as Egypt, Greece, and
Rome.

Fourth, the means of production
may belong conditionally to a man
who does not use them—the worker
having a right to use them and being
obliged to render certain payments and
services, fixed by law or custom, to
the owner; the owner having a right
to require that the worker shall use
them and render those dues, but hav-
ing no right to exact heavier dues nor
to deliver the worker from using the
means of production. Then, obviously,
the owner receives a fixed income out
of the product and the residue goes to
the worker. This relation of feudal
lord and serf was the dominant one in
medieval Europe.

Fifth, the means of production may
belong absolutely to a man who does
not use them and the worker owns only
his own labor power and owns that
absolutely. Then the worker must sell
his labor power—that is, hire himself—
to the man who owns the needed
means of production. The latter, own-
ing already the means of production
and having purchased the labor power,
owns the product, as a matter of
course; but out of it he must pay
wages to the worker, else the latter
will not work. The worker, then, gets
the market price of his labor power—
fixed, roughly, by the cost of sub-
sistence—and the residue remains to
the owner. This relation of employer
and wage-worker is the dominant one
all over the civilized world to-day and
in many countries for a century or two
past.

Whichever of these forms may be
the rule in any given age and coun-
try, one or all of the others may exist
at the same time. Thus, there are
some independent workers that is
workers individually or collectively
owning means of production sufficient
to carry on their industries without
permission from anyone else in all

civilized countries to-day, though
wage-labor is the rule. But it is the
dominant system with which the econ-
omist should chiefly concern himself,
not the exceptions. The man who, in
discussing current economic problems
to-day, constantly lugs in Robinson
Crusoe with his ax and the primitive
man with his rude club—as, for in-
stance, most single Taxers do—is like
one claiming to be a biologist who
should argue from the premise that
man is a six-toed animal, because a
few six-toed men exist. Hobbeson
Crusoe does not and cannot exist in
modern society, except as a mon-
strosity.

Evidently, then, we need a special
term to designate means of production
owned and controlled in the special
way which is characteristic of and
dominant in modern society, the last
of the five ways enumerated. This
term we have in "capital," as used by
Socialists.

When a Socialist speaks of capital,
he is not speaking of the harpoon
which the Eskimo both owns and uses
and by means of which the Eskimo in-
dependently gets his living. He is
speaking of means of production,
whether natural or artificial, operated
by wage-labor, and yielding an income
to the owner by virtue of his owner-
ship.

"Even Socialists sometimes use the
word loosely, and speak of the 'col-
lective ownership of capital' in the
Socialist state or say that under So-
cialism 'the state will be the sole cap-
italist.' This is, perhaps, allowable as
a figure of speech—just as we talk of
'railroad kings' and 'coal barons,'
knowing well that Vanderbilt's or Car-
negie's position is essentially different
from that of Louis XI or Froust de
Beauf. In the Socialist state there
will be no capital, no capitalist, no
wage-worker, no profit, and no wages;
there will be associated workers col-
lectively owning the means of produc-
tion they use. It were well that So-
cialists should stick close to the strict
use of the word 'capital,' for much
confusion follows a misunderstanding
of it.

An appropriate way to see the "Old
Year out and the New Year in"—make
a New Year's gift to the Socialist
movement of the United States in the
form of a contribution to the National
Organizing Fund. If you can spare
only ten cents, send that; if you can
spare a dollar or two or five, all the
better. Send it to William Mallory, Na-
tional Secretary, McCague Building,
Omaha, Neb., without delay and make
the last week of 1903 a good one to
round out the figures in the annual
report.

COMRADE MASSEY'S ASTONISH- ING MOTION.

Seven months ago, the rank and file
of our party decided by a general vote
of 3,747 to 2,905, to change the mem-
bership of the National Quorum. Na-
tional Committee-men Mills of Kansas
immediately moved to set aside the
result of the general vote on the ground
that it was "unintelligible." This
proposal was heard with astonishment
by the membership and was most
decisively rejected by the National
Committee—only Richardson of
California and Lovett of South Da-
kota supporting Mills in the plan to
overrule the plainly expressed will
of the party, and sixteen National Com-
mittee-men recording themselves
against it.

We did not suppose that anything
of the sort would be proposed again—
for a few years at least, until we had
time to forget that experience. We
were mistaken. This time it is Na-
tional Committee-man Massey of North
Dakota who astonishes us.

About two months ago a sufficient
number of locals moved for a general
vote on a proposition to amend the con-
stitution so as to give the organized
society representation in the National
Committee proportionate to their mem-
bership. The National Secretary drew
up a form for the submission of the
question, following exactly the work-
ing used by the locals moving it, as he
was in duty bound to do. This form
he laid before the National Committee
for approval. The members of that
body, including Comrade Massey, had
three full weeks in which to consider
it. Not one of them objected to its
submission to the membership. On
November 10 it was so submitted and
the voting begun, to close on January
4, 1904.

Now, five weeks after the question
was laid before the party for general
vote, while the vote is going on and
when it is probably nearly completed,
Comrade Massey comes up with a
proposition that the National Commit-
tee declare the whole proceeding out
of order and nullify the action of the
rank and file, whatever that may prove
to have been.

We have no fear that the National
Committee will arrogate to itself any
such power, but the fact that there
should be even one member capable
of making such a proposal is regret-
table enough—regrettable because, un-
der all the circumstances, it is quite
impossible for us to attribute the act
to any but a factional motive.

If the news of Comrade Massey's
motion has any effect upon the action
of the membership in the very few
remaining days, it will undoubtedly

be to decide some heretofore wav-
ering ones to vote for the amendment
opposed by such methods. That the
amendment ought to be carried
seems to us clear. That it will
be carried seems to us probable.
If carried, it will materially reduce the
power in the national organization of
half-a-dozen men, representing very
small and in some cases delinquent
state organizations, whose principal
vocation for the past ten months has
seemed to be that of obstructing the
work in which our present National
Secretary has so splendidly borne his
part.

Current Literature

REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS IN So-
cialist Faith and Fancy, by Peter
B. Burrows. Cloth, gilt top, 320
pages, with portrait of the author.
Price \$1.

Here is a book of beauty and pow-
er, a book in which profound thought
and sublimely poetic expression is
interwoven with quaint and delightful
wit. Burrows is a master of words;
as marshalled by his magic pen they
urge and inspire, thrill and caress,
soothe and exalt. In this book the
reader will find many laughs, and
great upliftings of the heart and far
outlookings of the mind. There is
surprise in every sentence and a
poem in every page. The book
pours forth like a great, golden,
sunlit flood. Always the element
of unpoeticalness is great. The
author's mind is like a kaleidos-
cope. He is always seeing things
from another standpoint and saying
them in a new way, ever shifting,
changing, flowing, running the gamut
from rallery to reverence, from sar-
casm to sublimity, yet with a constant
passion and purpose underlying all.

But far greater in value than any
possible merit of style, is the empha-
sis which the author places on the so-
cial nature of everything human. To
Burrows Socialism is a religion, in the
sense of a passionate relation to life—
that is, to the social body. All his
thought is based on the organic con-
ception of society, and guided by the
social spirit, and not with the social
passion. The fact that the individual
and all his works is a social product
and inseparable apart from society,
he never forgets and never lets his
readers forget. Such a writer is sorely
needed while so many Socialists are
still proclaiming the abstractions of
individualism in ethics, and other fields
of thought. Too many avowed, active,
and sincere Socialists are individualis-
tic in the general spirit of their
thought and conception of life; in
every department of thought except
concerning their minds are under the
spell of individualism, which is per-
haps natural while the economic basis
of things remains as it is. Burrows,
on the other hand, is a social Socialist,
and it is to be hoped that his work
will be a wholesome corrective to in-
dividualistic Socialists. A realization
of the social nature of thought and of
all human activity is one of the things
most needed within the Socialist move-
ment itself, and this basic principle
of Socialism, which is the key to Social-
ist thought from economics to ethics,
is profoundly and suggestively ex-
pressed throughout these "Revolutionary
Essays." The following quotations
for example:

"As the particles of matter which
make up the physical have a habit of
coming to, gathering and staying
around, a point which we call the cen-
ter of gravity, so the thoughts of men
do cluster to the collective thought,
and men themselves have ever been
gravitating to the social man. The
habit when acquired by matter is
called a law. That law is the habit of
matter, and this habit is the law of
man. The social thinking of to-day is
an energy, coming from within the
race, begotten by the social nature of
things of matter, even as electricity,
that spark indomitable, was born. In this
way, mankind flashing back upon
each other each one's sense of each,
and in the mighty human effort of
everybody to help himself by giving
pleasure to others, a reciprocity of
need, of intent, of effort and will at
last produced a common potency—a
potency produced—first between two
and depending afterward upon them at
one time; then continued by many, and
depending less upon any one or any
few, and then, during the very many,
depending little, depending less, and
depending least, and finally not at all
depending upon persons, it became an
independent social force, peculiar to
mankind. An original force, though it
is inextinguishable, and is still the product
of reciprocity as to its intenseness and
power—the social urge, which will in
time give place to the immense truth-
quility of the social habit. This great
collective psycho-fulfilla all the essen-
tials of a universal human soul or law,
because it is itself at once a product
and a producer. The product of living
together, it is also the producer of
more togetherness. The product of
early physical association, it was
stricken forth of human brains; the
spark of mental association, the light
and heat of social habitarianism, it
passed from brain to brain. Like the
electric spark, it could not dwell in
any single brain. It runs and
lives. It must have a circuit
through many; it must have a circuit
lives in its circuit; it abhors insula-
tion. The product of organization, it
has in turn an action like that of a
certain window-catch, it has been
which not only holds together but
draws together as it closed. The pro-
duct of the organization habit, it be-
comes itself, in turn, an organizing
power, and thus reciprocates until the
redemption of man from egoism and
private mastery. The product of a
physical potency out of some tremen-
dous physical effort that once struck a
few of the early men, was this power
to put two brains-impressions on one vi-
sual cord, on one common interest, and
from that day forth it was created the
creator. . . . The law that ob-
tains among us does not think by itself
nor do by itself. It is our product.
Yet not produced by us with any con-

sciousness of a deliberate purpose. It
is not a thought nor a thinker; it is not
a deed nor a doer, but of collective
thoughts and thinkers, deeds and
doers it is the sum. . . .
"Do you know anything of the value
of that plus which stands for what
three men in one enterprise mean more
than each one in a third of the same en-
terprise? Do you know the strangely
mighty, spiritual plus which, like
the crown of celestial light and pow-
er, hovers over the potencies of all
those who are working together with
one heart and mind? Brother of mine,
the God of whose presence I am whis-
pering to thee now, the God of an or-
ganizing and organized humanity, is
the plus of all these pluses. . . .
"I draw a great circle. . . . I
draw a little circle within that great
one, around the same center. The
outer surface from the center of that
little circle is where I live, and all the
human family inside of that circle is
the sub-conscious or social man of his-
tory. The inner side of the great cir-
cle without is the reflective surface
from whence returns upon me and all
men the net product of ourselves—the
tides of history coming back upon us in
tradition, tendency, will, habit, opin-
ion, social emotion, enthusiasm, wis-
dom, folly, and the world habit, that
great, gratifying, and entering the small
circle beneath us is our collective sub-
conscious."

Burrows' new and luminous ex-
pression of the psychological side of
this already accepted Socialist philo-
sophy of the sociality of everything, is
not all of his philosophy. He also ven-
tures somewhat into metaphysics in
chapters and passages on "truthing,"
with its "metaphor," and "adjecti-
vism," and "involvement."

In the wonderful essay on "What is
Truth" (a social application of He-
gel's conception of truth) our author
shows that truth is to be found in
social action rather than by individual
perception. In his own words: "Truth
is a war on finalities and it is a human
affair only when the thinker chooses
to move with it. The activity of the hu-
man mind is but a reflection of the
eternal activities outside of us, which
is truth. The mind is permitted to be
a spectator of the active drama, but
while it continues as a reflective spec-
tator of that eternal persistency, it re-
flects but a little segment of the circle.
Not until it arises and mingles with
the persistency of going on which it
beholds, has it become truth, and the
mind's only relation to it is the relation
of becoming its persistency. The mind,
therefore, is not the seat of truth
truth is a doing. The mind may
have something to say about what is
truth, though I apprehend that it is
easy for us to make too much of that
little. . . . Truth is in the will.
It is choosing the way with others. It
is the choice of that way which ab-
solutely arrives. It is the march of
the marching. . . . It is, in the main,
an adjustment, a relation, a course of
conduct which comes to every man with
social faith."

In connection with his conception of
the nature of truth Burrows coins
a word, "metaphor," (or, rather, gives
an entirely different, and philosophical
meaning to a word which has hereto-
fore been used only as a technical
term of electricians) to express the
idea of a moving pattern or mode of
motion. In his own words:
"There is a life pattern made up by
the meters and the movements of life;
a pattern which threads and weaves
lines are thoughts, wills, desires, affec-
tions, and habits of doing; a pattern
which is preserved only by all the
parts remaining in motion; just as the
pattern of an art tapestry is preserved
only by all the parts remaining still.
And the movement which preserves
that harmony and correlation of mov-
ing parts is the moral movement, the
god-weaving movement, the movement
of which man is a metaphor, with his
thousands of congenial and god-favor-
ing surfaces. . . . Outside his head, and
if he not outside his head, he is a
shuttle breaking threads in his hands
any thing or breaking them off? He
is a weaver who is the thing that is
being woven. He is a guiding move-
ment among movements, a congeries
of movements among movements. As the
point of a needle traveling is followed
by the eye and by the thread, so the
moving weaver goes in and out
and up and down among the
movements of his own and like
himself, and so together with him
and together with them are a life
pattern. The keenest point of thought
leads, the eye of the understanding
follows, and the long threads of habit,
will and obedience move after. . . .
"The private life says: 'Nay, I will
move rather in my home circle,' and
so, like the dog pursuing its own tail,
it moves. Yet as the orbit of that dog
so moves as a circle, that while going
around itself the creature also may go
from one room to another, the private
life is moved by larger law to Social-
ism, however self-centred. If the dog
does not go himself, the dog's orbit
goes, just as the stars in their orbits
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THE THOMPSON AFFAIR.

National Secretary Will Not Issue National Organizer's Commission for Work in an Organized State to Any Man Not Approved by State Organization.

By instruction of the Quorum, National Secretary Mally has submitted to the National Committee the question: "Shall Carl D. Thompson be given a commission as National Organizer for the Socialist Party, dating from Nov. 20, inclusive of engagements filled in South Dakota and Nebraska?" The decision of the National Committee is to be given by Jan. 2.

Briefly, the occasion for this action is as follows: Comrade Thompson applied for a commission as National Organizer. He had already made some dates in Nebraska by private arrangement, without consulting the State Committee and wished the commission from national headquarters to cover these dates. Secretary Mally held that he could not commission any comrade as National Organizer for work in an organized state without the approval of the state organization concerned. The Nebraska state organization, being asked for approval of Thompson's working in that state and the commission for such work was accordingly refused. The Quorum upheld the National Secretary. At Thompson's desire, the matter is referred to the full National Committee in such a form as to make Thompson's application a test case on the rule laid down by the National Secretary and Quorum.

With the question is submitted a voluminous correspondence, parts of which we are obliged to condense or summarize, for lack of space. It seems advisable, however, to give pretty full extracts, not only for its bearing on this case, but for the general information given on the National Secretary's method of routing organizers, etc. We omit nothing essential. The words in large type were underlined in the originals.

L.—Thompson to National Secretary, Long Pine, Neb., Oct. 7.—Asks for blank applications for charter; also whether Mally cares to publish reports of Thompson's work in his official bulletins.

H.—National Secretary to Thompson, Oct. 8.—States that "in organized states the State Secretaries will furnish all the supplies to organizers," that he has referred the request to State Secretary Roe of Nebraska, and that he could not publish in the bulletins reports of the work of anyone but those working directly under the national office. "I have refused several requests of the kind, as well as to advertise books, publishing houses, etc. I have had to adopt this policy so that the bulletin could not be taken advantage of, and not because of opposition to any individual. I have to be impartial in this matter or make myself subject to criticism from all sides."

III.—Thompson to National Secretary, Long Pine, Oct. 10.—"So far as supplies for organizing, etc., are concerned, it of course doesn't matter to me at all where they come from. Only Comrade Roe has been so slow to respond to my requests that I shall probably have to get the supplies elsewhere. He doubts that I can naturally secure at all, although this may not be the reason. I guess he is slow anyway."

"As to publishing reports of my work, your plan is quite satisfactory to me if it is to you. I only wanted you to know that I was willing to report to you."

"Several propositions are before me for my work next year in the Socialist field. I would like to inquire, that I may decide more wisely, whether you still desire to have me work as a National Organizer under direction of headquarters, and if so, upon what terms, conditions, limitations, etc., and would inquire whether you would care to arrange a lecture tour for me through the Eastern states. I trust you will write me frankly. I want to do the best thing. . . . I will work in Nebraska and South Dakota until the holidays."

IV.—National Secretary to Thompson, Oct. 12.—"I am perfectly willing that you should work under the direction of the national headquarters, and I believe the Quorum will also be agreeable if you should desire me to submit your name to it for you to be added to our list of lecturers or organizers."

"Our terms are three dollars a day for each day out and hotel and traveling expenses. A financial statement is submitted on the first of each month, for which blanks are provided. Organizers make a report at least once a week, although I do not report their work in my bulletin often than once in two weeks. Arrangements for tours, lectures, etc., are made either directly by this office or by the state organizations where speakers work. Other than this, I do not know of limitations. Of course, speakers are expected to act in harmony with the different states, observing the rule of state autonomy. In unorganized states the territory is under the jurisdiction of this office."

"I have had no trouble so far with any of the states on this phase of the work. Neither have I had any trouble with our organizers, as I give them the widest scope possible for the exercise of their individuality. We place our confidence in the men selected and ask nothing but good work for the cause. . . . I believe we could arrange an Eastern trip, lecturing, beginning in January. In fact, I would like this. . . . If the foregoing is agreeable, I should like to hear from you at once."

"It may be that the terms would not be agreeable, and in that case I would ask you to write frankly your views or opinions, or even your desires, upon this matter. If you have another kind of proposition, make it, and I will give you my opinion, and, if you wish, submit it to the Quorum. It seems to me, however, that the certainty of a fixed sum being assured, lecturer daily, without having to rely upon collections, donations, etc., gives a sense of security which must express itself in a man's work."

"I am going to talk this question of the Lecture Bureau work over thoroughly with the Quorum when it meets next month and get things on a firmer basis. But if I know your views now it will better aid me to arrange things so that everybody will be satisfied."

V.—Thompson to National Secretary, Black Hills, S. D., Oct. 16.—"Kindly mail me at Deadwood list of names and addresses of the National Committee."

"Your letter regarding my working under the national headquarters received and contents carefully noted, and will say that I am pleased with the letter and very favorably impressed with the proposition. I feel of course that the only logical course for all of us who work in the general field is to work from headquarters."

"As to the terms and as to my submitting to the Quorum some proposition of my own, I do not feel that I should do that. I realize that the Commission must put some limit, and I also realize the difficulty that would immediately arise if one man were paid more or differently than another. So if I work under direction of the National Committee and Secretary, I shall do so on the terms they offer."

"I feel, of course, that my services are worth more to the party than \$3 per day and expenses. So far, however, I have felt that they were unable to offer more than that, and I have never asked nor received from my Socialist lecturing and organizing even as much as that. From now on, however, the ability of the party to do better by its servants increases, and I have certainly had a part in the bringing about of that condition. I naturally feel, therefore, that the party should do better by me—and other, too—as its ability to do so arises. I feel that we ought to maintain as high a standard of platform and field work as it is possible for us to do. And we cannot expect our workers to maintain the highest type of public service unless we support them well. I feel that there has been considerable excessive charging for Socialist lectures. I have felt that in order to get the movement opened and organized, we must speak and organizers should all make all the sacrifices we could. I mean that we should take just as little for our own personal affairs as possible. I have carried out this principle in my work, and my services so far have not cost the party membership over \$500 or \$600 per year. The rest of my income I have earned by singing and outside effort. And in all of course, my wage has been a bare subsistence. Now, however, as the movement grows, I feel that the party ought, as a matter of wisdom, to select able and efficient men, with special views of the future, and to pay them enough to enable them to maintain the highest possible type of service. I hope to make myself of some value to the movement."

"However, I do not demand that party officials should agree with me upon this matter. If they do not of their own accord choose to do this—it is for them to decide. And on the other hand, it is for me to do all I can to equip myself for this service. If the party officials do not open the way for me to do it, and other ways do open, I shall expect to take advantage of them. And I believe all will agree that this is wise."

"I therefore feel like leaving the whole matter to the wisdom of the officials. Would also inquire whether you would care to assume management of part of my time in case I should engage with state committee for other part. So far each summer I spend a month or more under my own management with a male quartet, singing at Chautauque and other places. I am sure that I can make a considerable profit and afford a vacation as well. Would that be satisfactory?"

Asks further about charges to locals for services of national organizers and lecturers and about advertising.

VI.—National Secretary to Thompson, Oct. 20.—Encloses list of National Committee. "Referring to your questions, I will state:

First, That the rate of \$3 a day for each day out, with hotel and traveling expenses additional, means \$1,005 a year salary, or \$547.50 for six months. The hotel and traveling expenses are usually as much more, so that the remuneration is not much more than you have been receiving."

"Second, Would you prefer to accept \$5 per day for each day out, with traveling expenses additional, leaving you to provide board or hotel? These are the terms Comrade Hanford is now working under."

"Third, As the office seeks only to cover expenses, speakers are not asked to fill more than five or six dates weekly."

"Fourth, In the event that special arrangements are made with state organizations for the services of a national organizer or lecturer, a time-limit to the engagement is set, and the state organization assumes financial responsibility. Recently John W. Brown, National Organizer, worked for ten weeks for the Connecticut State Committee, making his financial arrangements with that committee, while his name was retained upon the list of national organizers. Brown is now working at the expense of this office for a month in the state campaign in Massachusetts. In the case of Goebel, for instance, he is working in Texas under the direction of the comrades there, while the national office bears the financial responsibility. On lecture tours this office is responsible, and the dates are arranged either directly by me or the various state secretaries, according to agreement with the latter."

"Fifth, I have been charging a flat rate of ten dollars for Hanford. In some cases I have reduced this figure where I thought he could do good and the comrades were unable to guarantee the sum stated. However, I shall try not to reduce the figure. I find that the office pays salary and traveling expenses, printing circulars, correspondence, cuts, etc., the margin is too small to admit of any reduction. This figure holds only for continuous lecture tours. For special engagements, requiring the additional expense consequent upon extra preparation, long distance, time involved, etc., a special figure is made, agreeable to the speaker and those engaging him."

"Sixth, . . . (Details of advertising.)"

"Seventh, There would be no objection to your taking your usual month or two off in the summer. You are

under the direction of the national headquarters only when you are working directly for it. Chas. has been working in Maine and Massachusetts, by special arrangements with the state committees, since August, but his name is upon our list, and whenever he leaves his state he always consults the national office as to his wishes before making other arrangements."

"I think all the points have been fully covered, and I hope they will meet with your approval. I have tried to be plain, and if there is any point not clear do not hesitate to say so. Be sure and understand, however, that I do not attempt to exercise a censorship over the actions of our lecturers and organizers. I trust them and rely upon their fealty to the party to do their duty."

VII.—Note by National Secretary.—"On Saturday, Nov. 7, Comrade Thompson visited the national headquarters and stated that the correspondence regarding the national organization was satisfactory and that he was willing for his name to be placed on the list of national lecturers and organizers, under the conditions I had stated, but that he was engaged to work for three months in Wisconsin beginning in January next, and his further movements at the conclusion of that engagement would be considered later. I told him that as my term as National Secretary might end before that three months was up, and the National Committee might select some one else as my successor, he would understand that I could not definitely say what disposition could be made of his services three months hence. He acquiesced in this and said this was understood. This is written in explanation of the mention by Thompson in the following correspondence of my re-election as National Secretary. Later on in the same day I addressed the following note to Thompson:"

VIII.—National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 7.—"I should like you to write me a formal note accepting the commission as National Organizer under the conditions specified in my last letter, so that I can place same on file for purposes of record. I neglected to ask you for this this afternoon."

IX.—Thompson to National Secretary, Aberdeen, S. D., Nov. 17.—"I have your letters relative to appointment as National Organizer and the arrangement you suggest is satisfactory to me. However, in view of the fact that I am to work in Wisconsin for three months, and considering the fact which I have stated to me, that an election of National Secretary is to take place soon, I had thought that perhaps we better let the matter rest for the present. However, if you care to appoint me AT ONCE and assist me in the work I have to do up to Christmas, I shall be glad to accept, and have you appoint me."

"I had thought that I would not ask for this until I got out of Nebraska in view of the controversy here. But since your appointment of Hyland and the criticism that has resulted, it occurs to me that you might appoint me and assist me to complete the work I have to do, remove all doubt as to your impartiality, and at the same time help along the work of organizing which I am doing, and back me up financially."

"I therefore request immediate appointment upon the following conditions:

"I—Fifteen days in South Dakota, up to Dec. 1, under direction of state officials here who have the arrangements made."

"II—Fifteen to eighteen days in Nebraska at the following places . . . (list omitted). My secretary at Lincoln has the arrangements for these dates in hand and, as I understand, nearly completed. Many of these points have had requests for me in for some time and other points, I hope, will arrange for me on the way. As to finances, I have proposed the same arrangement with these places as I have everywhere—they do the very best I can and I take what they give. I feel sure that on this Nebraska trip I will make at least five new locals. Last two months my income was a little over \$65 per month above expenses. If appointed I will get all I can out of the work, as usual, and account to you as per your suggestions."

"3.—As to terms, would like to have you allow me not less than \$6 per day, beginning, say, Nov. 20, to the end of the contemplated trip, in NO CASE LATER THAN DEC. 10, AND I PAY ALL EXPENSES, both railway, literary, and hotel, and furnish all 'ad' matter, which is already partly out. I suggest this, as I reckon it to be the best basis for my paying all expenses. Perhaps \$6 is a little low, but I figure that my expenses will be moderate on this trip and will let it go at that for this short arrangement, if it is satisfactory to you. If your instructions would allow you to allow me something more, of course, it would be a favor no doubt due me—but if not, I will accept it as I state."

"This trip, if appointment is made, will require practically no work from the national office unless, perhaps, you cared to address letters to the points I am to visit, stating that the comrades to the work. Most of the places I have arranged for personally on my former trip, and my secretary is now attending to the final arrangements. Is this satisfactory? If so, you may appoint me at once. And if not, better wait until your re-election."

X.—National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 20.—"As I shall have to submit your letter to the Quorum for its consideration before I can give you a definite answer, I shall be obliged if you will inform me whether your Nebraska dates have been arranged by or with the consent of the State Committee. Under the state organization law of the national organization, the National Committee cannot have any of its speakers fill engagements in organized states without the consent or approval of the regular state organization. I ask this question because you state in your letter that your secretary at Lincoln has the arrangements for the Nebraska dates in hand."

"At the meeting of the Quorum, held the 14th, 15th and 16th inst., the state autonomy rule came up for discussion at different times and in various phases, and the Quorum members were decidedly of the opinion that this law should be more closely observed

in future than ever before. In view of this fact, I should like to know about your Nebraska dates, so that the Quorum can act upon your letter with full information on the subject."

"Of course, your suggestion that you be appointed because Comrade Hyland was, and in order to show impartiality, has no bearing upon this matter at all. Comrade Hyland's position on any question was not considered when he was appointed, and the National Committee by a very decisive vote of 20 to 3 endorsed Comrade Hyland's appointment, on the grounds of fitness and ability. Your appointment will be made on the same grounds. I would be showing a very limited conception of my duties as National Secretary if I suggested or proposed any comrade for appointment as lecturer or organizer because he expressed certain views upon any subject whatever."

"Perhaps it may not be out of the way for me to state that the criticism upon my proposing Comrade Hyland was significant for its scarcity. Comrade Richardson's letter was the only one I received which criticized me, while, on the other hand, I received a shoal of letters from comrades in every section of the country, North, East, South, and West, endorsing my position. I may also say that the letters I have received from Wyoming about Comrade Hyland more than justify his selection on the score of ability."

XI.—Thompson to National Secretary, en route, S. D., Nov. 24.—"You ask if my dates in Nebraska are arranged by or with the consent of the State Committee. In reply will say that my work in Nebraska was undertaken at the suggestion of a member of the State Committee and at the earnest solicitation of members of the party. After deciding to make the dates, I wrote to the State Secretary about the matter before arranging the dates, and asked him to take charge. He replied that the Quorum could not undertake to arrange my dates. He made no objection, however, to the dates being arranged, and being a member of the party in the state, I do not see how any objection could have been reasonably raised. And even if objection had been raised, as was the case later, I do not understand that the State Committee has any constitutional or moral right to prevent a member of the organization in the state and a local of the party arranging together for a meeting. Such a position would amount to a very serious restriction of the personal and local rights of the memberships. I do not understand this to be guaranteed by the constitution of the party nor to have been assumed by the Quorum or the National Committee. I do not see, therefore, that any valid objection can be raised, as you attempt to do, to my appointment as National Organizer on the ground that the State Committee has not given its consent to my work."

"You state that the National Committee cannot have any of its speakers fill engagements in organized states without the consent or approval of the regular state organization. As every local in the United States knows, the OFFICIALS of the Nebraska organization at Omaha have protested against my work, have denounced me as a traitor, and have urged that Nebraska officials, it is safe to say, have done everything in their power to prevent my work and to destroy the effect of it."

"BUT THE OFFICIALS AT OMAHA ARE BY NO MEANS THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEBRASKA. The dates I have filled, and am to fill, in Nebraska have had not only the consent and approval but also the active co-operation and financial assistance of practically every live and active local outside of Omaha. As you reasonably certain that the organization of a half-dozen new locals in addition to those I have already organized, together with the results of the work I have done, would, if submitted to a referendum, be unqualifiedly endorsed by at least 90 per cent. of the membership in the state. Indeed, it was by reason of the earnest solicitation of members and locals and state officials that I undertook the work in Nebraska. I will therefore be seen that the failure of my work to receive the endorsement of the Omaha OFFICIALS does not mean that my work has not the consent and approval of the state organization. AS A MATTER OF FACT IT HAS, and moreover, I insist that this attitude of the state officials in Nebraska towards me is unreasonable and unjustified. The charges they make are absolutely false and I have, as yet, been given no chance to explain. My statement will be in the hands of the National Committee in a few days. To assume that because some OFFICIALS have raised a protest upon grounds entirely unproven, without submitting satisfactory evidence, without a referendum, and above all without giving the accused even the opportunity to plead 'not guilty,' to say nothing of giving no opportunity to submit evidence and to show such circumstances that one is disqualified to act as National Organizer simply because some officials have attacked his character, and to act upon that assumption would, it seems to me, establish a bad precedent. For in such a case anyone who wished to become a National Organizer, or who was acting as such, could be made the victim of petty jealousies or dislikes by unscrupulous and narrow-minded officials. That would be a very serious thing to get a majority of a Local Quorum to issue a protest, no matter whether the grounds were true and reasonable or not."

"I therefore raise this question: Should not the protest of state officials be accompanied by at least some good and sufficient reasons and verified evidence before that protest shall disqualify an individual to act as National Organizer in the state? It seems to me that in the field many of us become the victims of immature and unwarranted action."

"The objection, therefore, that you raise to appointing me as National Organizer is, I believe, not valid. I therefore renew my application that I be appointed National Organizer, beginning with Nov. 20, and be permitted to fill the dates already arranged to Dec. 1 in South Dakota and to Dec. 16 in Nebraska upon the terms suggested in my letter to you of recent date."

"I agree with you, upon second thought, that the appointment of

Comrade Hyland should have no consideration in the matter. And I assure you and the National Committee that I have no inclination to press the matter of my application to the point of any less among the comrades. I have made the application and will let it stand until I am informed of the decision of the Quorum and National Committee."

XII.—National Secretary to Thompson, Nov. 27.—"You do not seem quite to understand the position occupied by the National Committee toward the separate state organizations. In organized states the regular state organization recognizes by the National Committee and maying down to the national office has sole jurisdiction of the members residing in their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization, and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the National Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organization (See Section 4, Article 6, National Constitution)."

"Under this law the national office cannot send or route speakers or organizers in or through any organized state without the consent or co-operation of the state organization in that state. This is as true of Nebraska as of California or New York. Your relations as a member in Nebraska with your State Quorum have nothing to do with the relations of this office with your State Quorum. So long as the State Quorum composes the officials of the regular party organization in Nebraska and that party organization maintains its standing in the national organization, then this office must, under the law, recognize the State Quorum as the representatives of the Nebraska state organization."

"The reasons why or how the State Quorum refused to arrange dates for you in Nebraska have no concern of this office, but the fact that you have made the dates you say in Nebraska on your own responsibility does not imply that this office, acting for the National Committee, shall assume that responsibility. The National Committee deals with state organizations or with locals in unorganized states, and with individuals only where no local or state organization exists. What you do in your individual capacity as a member in Nebraska is no concern of Socialism, but we do object to his openly assisting the proven enemies of our party to get control of the party organization, and to his fighting Socialists instead of expounding the principles of the party. And we have more reason than ever for refusing to recognize or endorse him as a field worker since having an opportunity to estimate the kind of work he has been doing in Nebraska lately, and which work we ask the national office to be responsible for."

"On Oct. 14, Thompson, spoke at Chadron. The meeting was arranged by him through L. J. F. Jaeger of that place. Our State Secretary afterward received from Jaeger, as temporary secretary, under Oct. 15, an application for a local with seven members, which was organized on Oct. 14, the application was made out in the handwriting of Carl D. Thompson and was one of the kind used by him. The local was reported in the press as one organized by him. Among the names on the application for charter were those of L. J. F. Jaeger and D. W. Sperling. The occupation of the former was given as 'merchant' and the latter as 'Chief of Police'."

Following our usual rule, the charter was withheld pending investigation by State Organizer Schlemeyer, who reached Chadron Nov. 1.

"Organizer Schlemeyer reported on Nov. 2 that L. J. F. Jaeger, with whom Thompson had corresponded to arrange the meeting, was a member of the Democratic County Committee, and that Sperling was Chief of Police, appointed by a Democratic Mayor. Comrade Schlemeyer succeeded in having Jaeger and Sperling withdraw their names, as the following correspondence will show:

"Chadron, Neb., Nov. 4-'03.

"J. P. Roe, Sec'y:

"Dear Sir:—By instructions from Organizer Schlemeyer, I hereby withdraw my name from the Democratic County Committee, as well as that of D. W. Sperling as charter members of the Chadron Local. You will hereafter please address all communications to R. M. Stanton, Chadron, Nebraska."

"Speaking for myself, while I believe in Socialism, yet I cannot accept the radical part of the platform which excludes all but wage earners and cannot believe the dawn of emancipation can be reached that way."

"L. J. F. JAEGER."

"Chadron, Neb., Nov. 4, 1903.

"Dear Sir:—The enclosed will be sufficient to make me eligible for charter. This completes our part, as Comrade Schlemeyer instructs us. If anything is lacking, please let me know."

"Comrade Schlemeyer is a true Socialist and bears acquaintance well. Very respectfully,

R. M. STANTON, Fin. Sec., Chadron Local."

C.—ENCLOSURE.

"To the Secretary of State Socialist Party:

"Sir:—You will please erase my name from the list of Socialists at this place, for the reason that I am Chief of Police, appointed by the Mayor of this city, and I have been informed that you are withholding the charter from the society organized here on account of my name being on the list. Respectfully,

D. W. SPERLING, Chief of Police."

"The charter was therefore granted to the Chadron Local, upon recommendation of Organizer Schlemeyer."

"The State Quorum is not prepared to sanction such work as Thompson is herewith proven capable of doing, and which shows that in his anxiety to re-organize the state he is willing to take anybody or anything into the party, even capitalist office-holders like the Chadron Chief of Police, and

and it believes its course justified by the facts in its possession. The Quorum believes it would be untrue to the trust reposed in it by the membership in Nebraska and false to its duty to the Socialist Party if an endorsement, direct or indirect, were given to one guilty of acts Thompson has committed."

"Ever since the state convention of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, last July, Thompson has done his utmost to discredit the state organization of Nebraska and to disrupt, under the name of re-organization, the Socialist Party in this state. From the time of that convention he has persistently and maliciously, in and out of the state, distorted the actions of that convention, slandered the comrades attending it and ridiculed the party officials. More than that, he has conspired and conspired with men already proven guilty of treason to the party and of attempting to gain control of it for corrupt ends. He has shamelessly proclaimed his intention of 're-organizing' the state so that the present officials could be ousted and the ring of bootlickers, whose headquarters are in Omaha, obtain control."

"Thompson went forth from the state convention last July and stated in public print that the State Quorum had withheld a charter from Maywood because the new local there was composed of farmers and merchants, a falsehood which has obtained wide circulation throughout the country and placed the state organization of Nebraska in a false and unjust position."

"It is the rule of the State Quorum not to grant charters to locals in new places until a State Organizer has visited that place and investigated. This rule was adopted because Nebraska is a close state politically and we have had to guard against politicians, belonging to both the old parties, getting into the party organization in order to use it for their own purposes. That rule is a necessary one will be shown later. This rule was followed in the Maywood case, but without an organizer had visited Maywood and investigated. When this was done the Maywood charter was granted in due form."

"This same misrepresentation occurred in the case of the so-called 'Eighty Per Cent. Resolution,' which the state convention never acted upon. It should be understood that the State Quorum never objected to Thompson working in this state for Socialism, but we do object to his openly assisting the proven enemies of our party to get control of the party organization, and to his fighting Socialists instead of expounding the principles of the party. And we have more reason than ever for refusing to recognize or endorse him as a field worker since having an opportunity to estimate the kind of work he has been doing in Nebraska lately, and which work we ask the national office to be responsible for."

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PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

All Comrades and Organizations are hereby informed that an

Industrial Labor Exposition and Food Show

For the benefit of the Labor Press, "THE WORKER" and the "NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG," is being arranged, and will take place APR 23 to May 8, 1904, at the GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets, New York.

Organizations are requested to consider arranging Festivals Accordingly.

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

FACSIMILE OF TICKET!

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GRAND LABOR Industrial Exposition and Food Show

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APRIL 23 to MAY 8, 1904

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175 Retain This Ticket

men like Jaeger, who do not believe in a working-class platform.

"We can quite believe that Thompson may have made the engagement to speak at Chadron without knowing the real position occupied by Jaeger, as the latter is an 'Appeal to Reason' reader, but there is no reason why he should not have learned it after he reached the city. That he should consider Democratic committee-men and chiefs of police fit to be members of the party, shows him unworthy of trust and incapable of holding the responsible position of organizer for the Socialist Party."

"For those reasons, the State Quorum declines to endorse Carl D. Thompson, and requests that you forward this letter to the National Committee, should you submit the other correspondence."

THE STATE REFERENDUM.

To the Editor of The Worker:—A few remarks about changing the seat of the State Committee from New York City to Rochester may not be amiss. When Local Yorkers discussed the matter of removing the State Committee it was because their delegate had brought back very unsatisfactory reports of service rendered. I remember specifically that Highland Falls was mentioned among other places as having failed to receive the attention our delegates thought they should have received at the hands of the State Committee. It was then proposed that it would perhaps be conducive to more thorough work by the State Committee if a change was made. Knowing the activity of Local Rochester and the ability of its members, we proposed that place, and we feel assured that if the change is made Local Rochester will do its full duty in the matter. Personally, I have since ascertained that the present State Committee has done a great deal of very energetic work during the past campaign and that the Secretary has made some considerable sacrifice in the performance of his duty, but I am also of the opinion that a paid State Secretary should be elected so that his whole time may be devoted to the movement. I suppose that matter will lay over till the next state convention.

FRED. BENNETTS, Yonkers, N. Y., Dec. 18.

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

BROOKLYN ORGANIZATIONS, Attention!

For the convenience of the members of the Brooklyn organizations affiliated with the Labor Secretariat, a branch office has been opened at 148 E. 14th St., in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue. Office hours are from 2 to 6 p. m. week days. All Brooklyn cases from now on be submitted at the above branch. The Labor Secretariat, H. K. KENTLEIN, Ass't Secretary.

solutions, irrespective of personal opinions or individual conceptions of right and wrong.

Minneapolis, Dec. 7.

CICERO C. TALBOTT,

National Committeeman for Minnesota.

If by "socialist diplomats," Comrade Talbott means to describe the men of the type of August Bebel, for instance, we cheerfully withdraw the editorial remarks to which he takes exception. In that case we have, however, to add that we never heard the word "diplomat" used in such a sense. We understood the word as commonly used and based our objection to his expression on that understanding.—Ed.]